

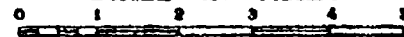
ISAAC FRANKLIN

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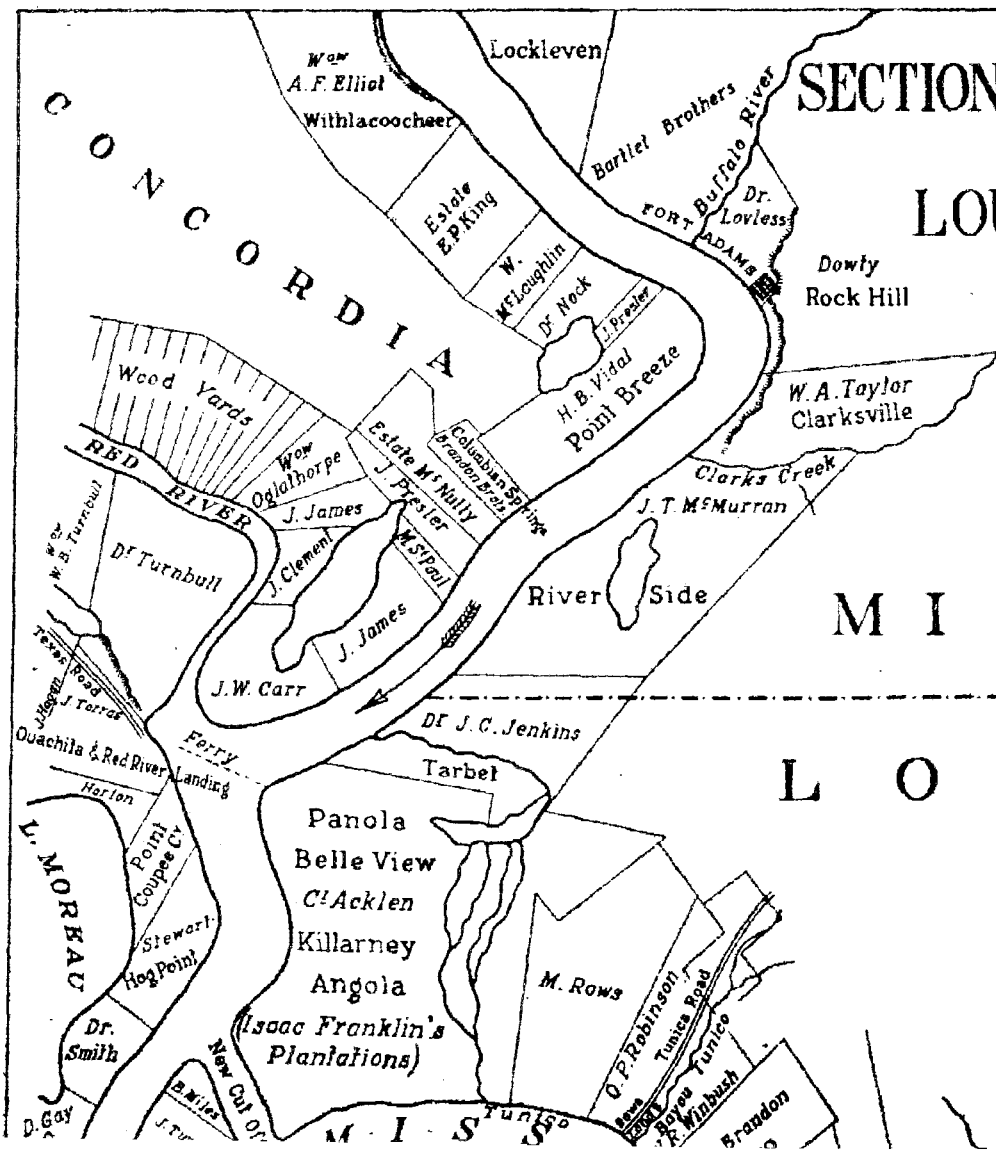
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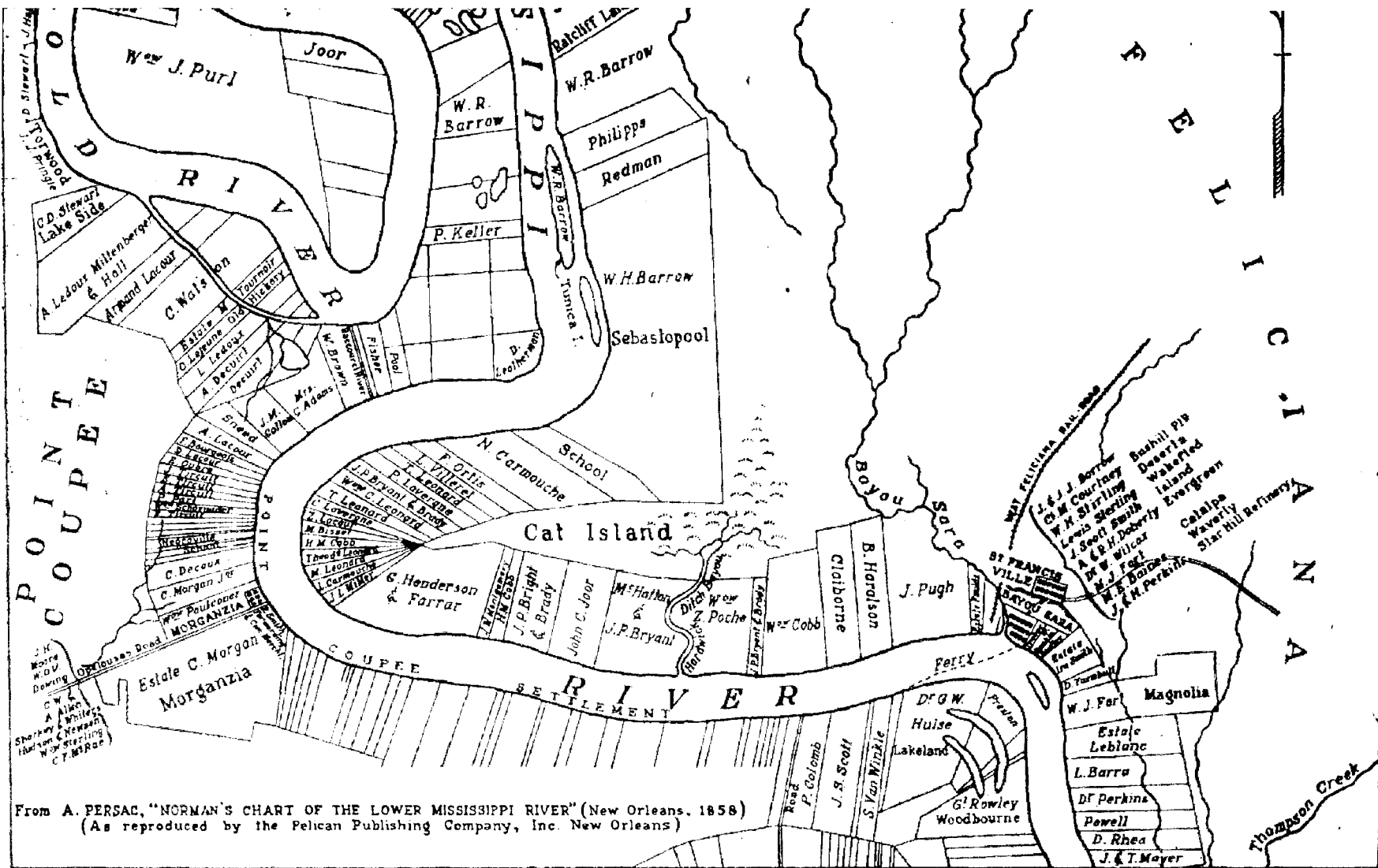
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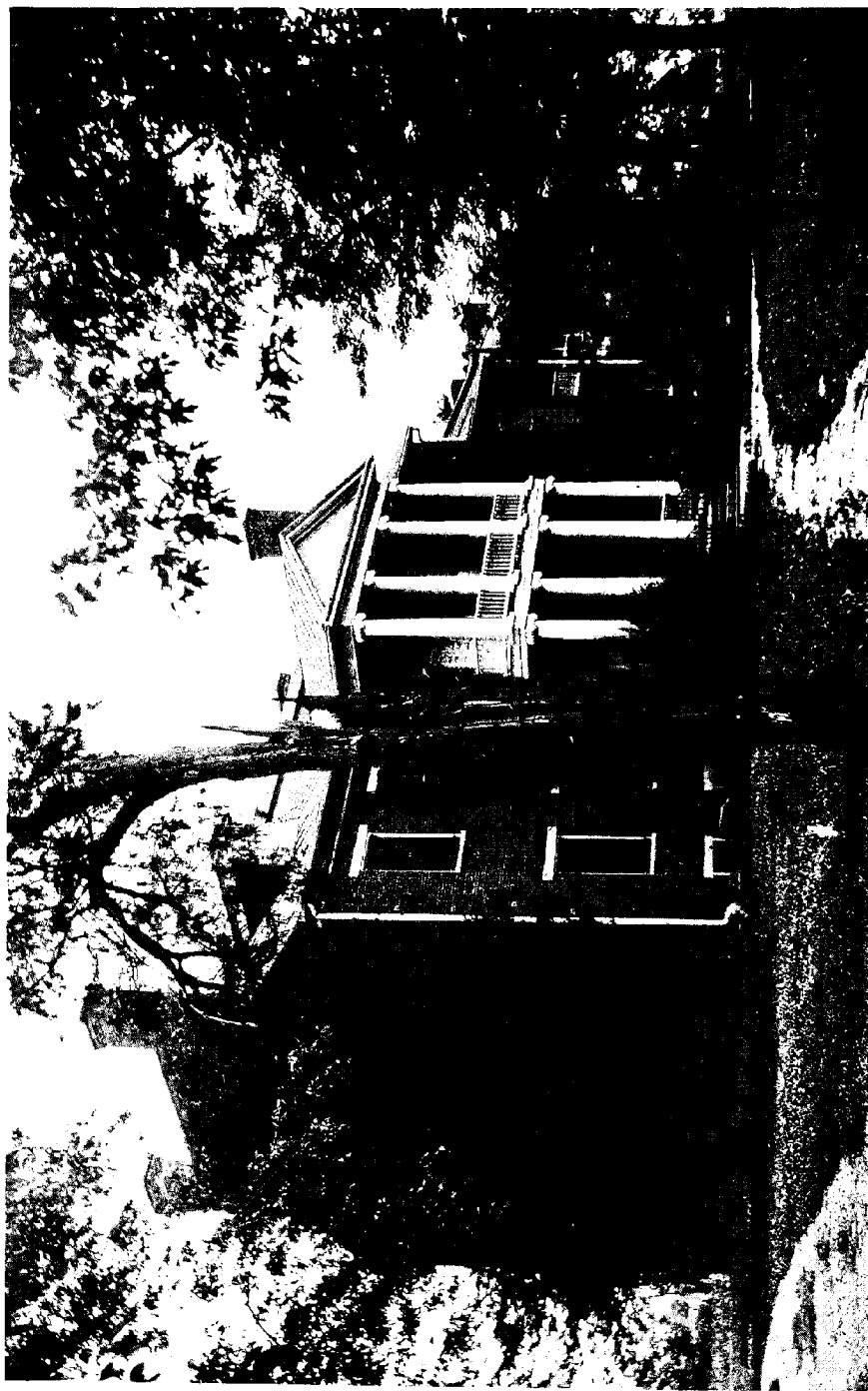
SCALE IN MILES



W E







FAIRVUE, ISAAC FRANKLIN'S TENNESSEE MANSION

ISAAC FRANKLIN

SLAVE TRADER AND PLANTER
OF THE OLD SOUTH

With Plantation Records

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

Louisiana State University Press

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To Hilda

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W. H. S.

Baton Rouge, December 8, 1937

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PART ONE
SLAVE TRADER AND PLANTER

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Old South has been the theme of historical scholars since the turn of the century. Analyses of its life and labor, its constitutional development, its minority role, its financial structure, and its public policy have partially recreated a section long neglected by scholarly approach. Especially have its upper and lower strata been exploited, and a fairly accurate picture of planters and slaves in Southern economic and social life is a *fait accompli*. In this premise, the task that remains is twofold. Further study of planters and plantations may modify tentative conclusions by showing what was unusual and what customary in their scheme of life; and investigation of the role of other plantation functionaries may give a more complete view of the interdependence of planters and the agents who served them. The late Professor Bassett introduced the plantation overseer in rather faithful attire,¹ and the slave trader has received partial recognition.² As yet, no comprehensive scholarly monograph has analyzed the contributions of the commission merchant or factor to plantation economy.³

¹ John S. Bassett, *The Southern Plantation Overseer As Revealed in His Letters* (Northampton, Mass., 1925).

² Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1931).

³ For the colonial period, see John S. Bassett, "The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1901, 2 vols. (Washington, 1902), I, 551-75; Elizabeth

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Isaac Franklin, slave trader and planter of the Old South, successfully combined two important vocations, and his transactions with factorage firms were so voluminous that the commission merchant occupies a dominant position in his records. Unlike most planters of his rank, he was little interested in public affairs. The fact that he was a professional slave trader would probably have barred him from public office even if he had possessed political ambitions. He was not a social outcast, however, for he invested his profits in land and slaves, and like many other traders who were attached to the soil, he moved in a social circle which befitted his wealth. Among his most intimate friends were the factors to whom he sold his cotton and from whom he purchased plantation supplies.

This study has been organized into three divisions. Part I presents Franklin's family background; discusses the assembling of slaves in the Chesapeake region, their transportation to the Southwest, and their sale in the Natchez and New Orleans markets; and analyzes Franklin's activities as a planter. Part II consists mainly of land transfers, inventories, and appraisals illustrating the creation, extent, and disposition of his Tennessee and Louisiana property. Part III embraces financial records of the Louisiana plantations in the quadrennium from 1846 to 1850. The study is significant not so much because of Franklin's personal record but rather for the light it throws upon the long-distance slave trade and the plantation regime.

Donnan, "Eighteenth Century English Merchants: Micajah Perry," in *Journal of Economic and Business History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928-), IV (1931), 70-98; Frances N. Mason (ed.), *John Norton & Sons: Merchants of London and Virginia . . .* (Richmond, 1937). Relations between James K. Polk and his New Orleans commission merchants are treated in Bassett, *Southern Plantation Overseer*, Chap. XII. See also, Norman S. Buck, *The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade, 1800-1850* (New Haven, 1925).

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Probably the most important part of it is embraced in the documents which relate to his Louisiana plantations. It was originally intended to include some source material illustrative of the slave trade, but this was abandoned because it seemed preferable to analyze it in detail in the introductory chapters.

For nearly a decade the writer has sought evidence of Franklin's activities and has found historical records wherever he acquired property or engaged in business: at Nashville and Gallatin, Tennessee; at Natchez and Jackson, Mississippi; at New Orleans, St. Francisville, and Vidalia, Louisiana; and at Alexandria and Washington, D. C. Failure to locate the account books and papers of his business partner, John Armfield, has detracted seriously from the value of that portion of the study dealing with the slave trade. That such records existed cannot be doubted, but shadowy clues have ended in fruitless searches. Meantime, some important notes on Franklin as a slave trader have found their way into print.⁴ It has seemed expedient to use several items already published in order to include within a single volume as complete a story as possible.

Of the monographs which treat of the domestic slave trade, nearly all are regional studies devoted usually to the traffic in a particular state. A notable exception is Frederic Bancroft's *Slave-Trading in the Old South*. For the exporting area, and especially for Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, this work is a valuable contribution, and it contains creditable essays on several other aspects of the traffic. But for the Southwest—the Lower Mississippi Valley—the study is not so satisfactory, for the sources in the leading importing states have not been ex-

⁴ Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 50, 51, 58-65, 275-76, 303-05.

hausted.⁵ Especially did Mr. Bancroft ignore bills of sale which are preserved by the thousands in the civil courthouse at New Orleans and, to a lesser extent, in the parish and county court records of Louisiana and adjacent states. Until these have been searched painstakingly, no one can claim to have said the final word upon the trade as it existed in this region, for there are aspects of the traffic which cannot be treated adequately until data from countless bills of sale have been assembled and analyzed.

The collection of notarial records housed in New Orleans is not only the largest in volume but also the most significant in content. A study of the records of the numerous traders who maintained establishments there would reveal, among other things, the extent of the sales area of that market and the prices of slaves of both sexes and various ages. In regard to slave prices in the New Orleans market, sufficient bills from a restricted period have been examined to conclude that existing price curves must undergo serious revision before they approximate the truth. The late Professor Ulrich B. Phillips pointed the way and revealed the method, admitting that his own tabulations were only a beginning.

The plantation records here printed are incomplete in at least one important respect. As Franklin was an absentee much of the time, there must have been considerable correspondence with the general superintendent or steward of his Louisiana plantations and with the overseer of his Fairvue place in Tennessee. He must also have corresponded with Francis Routh during the brief period of

⁵ See the writer's review of Bancroft's work in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* (Austin, Norman, 1920-), XII (1932), 88. A caustic tone which punctuates the study tends to convince the reader that he permitted the historical pendulum to swing too far to the left in his attempt to portray objectively an institution which he implies Phillips detailed with gloved hands.

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their copartnership. Diligent search has failed to locate any such letters. But if the records are inferior to other collections in this regard, they contain material not often available in such abundance. The chief value of the Franklin records is embraced in the accounts of plantation revenues and expenses for the period from 1846 to 1850. The executors, the general agent, and the several overseers were obliged to render accounts of their stewardship, and the court records became a permanent repository for the financial transactions of the Louisiana estate.

Probably in no other type of plantation record can the scholar find such a variety of information on the prices of commodities and services. As a modicum of miscellany, the steamboat fare from Bayou Sara to New Orleans was five or six dollars, with an additional half fare if accompanied by a servant; the passage from New Orleans to Nashville cost fifteen dollars by boat. The executors paid freight of twenty-two dollars and fifty cents "For three barrels [of] whiskey, for the preservation of Mr. Franklin's remains." The cost of a wardrobe for the master of the estate shortly before his death in 1846, consisting of a "superfine silk merino frock coat," a "superfine black merino dress coat," a "pair [of] black merino pants," two "pairs [of] drilling pants," and two "colored Marseilles vests," totaled ninety-six dollars. Sugar sold at six or seven cents a pound; molasses at twenty-six cents a gallon; lowells at eight and a half, and jeans at forty cents a yard. A lantern cost two dollars, a yoke of oxen fifty, and "Musquito bar and matrass for Gilbert's bed" six dollars and a quarter. In short, by consulting the record of plantation expenses, one can ascertain the price of farm implements and tools, of flour and mess pork, of tea and coffee, of lime and coal, of sheeting and shirting, of hats and shoes, of

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osnaburgs and linsey, of pills and quinine, of castor oil and paregoric, of files and saws, of brads and rivets, of the thousand and one items which were purchased for plantation use. To the student of social and economic history, the itemized lists of drugs, covering a few pages for each year, the record of a doctor's visits, and the purchases of food and clothing to supplement domestic production for a slave family of nearly six hundred, are of incalculable value.

It is apparent, then, that the court records form not only the basis for much of our knowledge of Franklin's slave trading interests, but that they also constitute an even larger proportion of the information upon his career as a planter. In fact, the conveyance records and the deed and will books of county and district courts are replete with invaluable historical evidence on plantation life in the Old South. In the generation that has elapsed since Phillips began his pioneering work, sundry diaries, overseers' reports, letters, agricultural periodicals, travel books, etc., have been exploited in writing the social and economic history of the Southern states. But with a few notable exceptions, court records have been sadly neglected. Southern history must remain more or less fragmentary until this rich lode has been widely utilized. In so far as the present study relates to plantation life and economy, it is a fair sample of the type of historical evidence that is available in a thousand courthouses from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. The next fifty years will hardly suffice to extract it from dusty records and breathe the breath of historical life into it.

In her monumental volumes, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*,⁶ Mrs. H. T. Catterall

⁶ Five vols., Washington, 1926-1937.

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definitely revealed the wealth of material accessible in the records of state courts of highest resort.⁷ But it should be remembered, first, that she was interested only in those cases which involved slavery and the negro, thereby ignoring much that pertained to plantation life; and second, that most cases were closed in lower courts without successful appeal to supreme or other appellate tribunals. It is, therefore, in local county or district court records that much historical evidence lies buried. The county courts and their functionaries played an important role in directing life and labor in the colonial and ante-bellum periods of the Southern commonwealths; the records which they left will eventually become a most significant source in presenting a complete picture of the old regime.⁸

It is possibly not common knowledge that succession records were frequently printed for the use of counsel in carrying cases involving much property to courts of appeal. These are storehouses of information. Much of the evidence in the succession of Isaac Franklin was printed, but it is unlikely that more than a half dozen copies were struck off, and only three or four of them are now known

⁷ See the writer's reviews of the third and fourth volumes of this work in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XXXIX (1934), 143-45; XLII (1937), 778-80.

⁸ An increasing number of historians realize that history is too often written almost solely from the records left by patricians. In large measure this is unavoidable because plebeians wrote few letters, seldom kept diaries, and made little news that the press cared to record. But the courts took cognizance of the affairs of the lowly as well as those of the well-born, and it is to their records that we may look in the future for evidence that will promote the writing of a more balanced history which will emphasize the economic and social life of the common man more than the standard histories of the past have done. But even the court records reveal more evidence concerning patricians than plebeians because property has always been an important source of litigation, and it follows logically that those possessed of worldly goods tended to monopolize the pages of judicial records since they had more property to sell, deed, will, inventory, or recover than their less fortunate contemporaries.

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to exist.⁹ Such printed succession records from the antebellum period as can be located at this late date are so rare as to be almost inaccessible; ¹⁰ consequently, they are to be placed in about the same category as manuscript materials filed in courthouses.

Despite the existence of voluminous court records, the paucity of other materials has made the study fragmentary in many places. All too often it may read like a book of historical lamentations. The fragments, when supplemented by studies of other planters, slave traders, and commission merchants, may eventually materialize in a definitive narrative of the commercial and plantation regimes in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

⁹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin* (n. p., n. d.). This volume of 918 pages is a record of the proceedings in the Seventh Judicial District Court, holding sessions in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, prepared by counsel of Mrs. Joseph A. S. Acklen (Franklin's widow), for use in the Supreme Court of the state, 1851-1852. Only three copies of this book have come to the writer's attention: one is owned by Mr. Harry Franklin of Gallatin, Tennessee; another by the Louisiana State University Library; and the third is filed in the Louisiana Supreme Court Record Room (Civil Courthouse, New Orleans), Docket Book, Vol. V, No. 406. The late Judge John H. DeWitt of Nashville, Tennessee, informed the writer that he knew of the existence of a fourth copy, but died before he had opportunity to send information concerning it.

¹⁰ The Louisiana State University Library possesses another such printed record, *Succession of Joseph Erwin* (n. p., n. d.). This volume of 1,247 pages is a transcript of the proceedings and records in the case of *Joseph E. and Alexander Wilson, complainants, v. John B. Craighead et al., defendants*, before the United States Circuit Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, 1854. The Erwin records have been analyzed by Mrs. Alice Pemble White in "The Plantation Experience of Joseph and Lavinia Erwin, 1807-1836" (M. A. thesis, 1933, Louisiana State University Library).

CHAPTER II

THE FRANKLIN FAMILY

In the quarter century following the War of 1812, Isaac Franklin created an estate worth three quarters of a million dollars in planting and slave trading. The mansion on his home plantation "Fairvue" in the heart of the Bluegrass region of Tennessee was acclaimed the finest in the state, not excepting Andrew Jackson's pretentious "Hermitage" a few miles away.¹ In the middle thirties Franklin purchased lands on the Mississippi River in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, where he and his executors eventually established six plantations, "Bellevue," "Killarney," "Lochlomond," "Angola," "Loango," and "Panola." He also had title to several thousand acres of land in Texas, and the estate included 340 shares in the Commercial Bank of Manchester, Mississippi, 60 shares in the Nashville and Gallatin Turnpike Company, and a third interest in the Nashville Racecourse.² At his death in 1846, Franklin was the owner of more than 600 slaves and over 10,000 acres of land besides extensive claims in Texas. His Tennessee plantation on the Cumberland River had water communication with his several plantations in Louisiana at the confluence of the Mississippi and Red rivers. On the former he produced meat, corn, and small

¹ For a comparison of Fairvue and the Hermitage, see the testimony of William Harvey, Eli Odem, Thomas Barry, and George A. Wylly, in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 274, 279, 299, 302.

² Inventory of Franklin's property other than that in Louisiana, taken September 28, 1847. *Ibid.*, 699-708; *post*, Pt. II, No. 7.

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grain for the use of his plantations in the Lower South where cotton was the great staple.³ Further, his interest in the firms of Franklin and Armfield and Ballard, Franklin, and Company made him one of the foremost slave traders of the Old South. With rare business ability he successfully combined planting and slave trading.

Isaac Franklin was born at Station Camp Creek ⁴ north of Pilot Knob in Sumner County, Tennessee, on May 26, 1789. The secondary accounts of his ancestry are conflicting and unreliable and there is little source material available. That his grandfather was a French Huguenot who settled in Virginia is quite generally accepted. A biographical sketch published soon after Isaac's death states that his father, James Franklin, was born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia,⁵ but a more recent account asserts that his Huguenot ancestor moved to North Carolina where James was born and reared.⁶ However that may be, upon his mother's remarriage James and two sisters started for the tramontane region of North Carolina with sundry slaves, but were overtaken by the stepfather who forced the girls and all but one of the servants to return with him. With the one slave James continued westward to become a pioneer in the settlement of Tennessee. Family tradition has it that Franklin was a "Long Hunter" who spent several months in the central part of the future commonwealth in the early seventies, and that temporary

³ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 285, 300-01.

⁴ For the origin of the name, see Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932*, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 65.

⁵ *Nashville Whig*, September 15, 1846. See also, *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, October 7, December 20, 1846; *New Orleans Daily Delta*, December 19, 1846.

⁶ [James Douglas Anderson], *The Historic Blue Grass Line. A Review of the History of Davidson and Sumner Counties, Together with Sketches of Places and Events Along the Route of the Nashville-Gallatin Interurban Railway* (Nashville, 1913), 68.

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residence there later induced him to become a permanent settler.⁷ In a mass of such untrustworthy evidence, it is a relief to find reliable authority for his association with James Robertson in the defense of the Cumberland region during the Revolution and for his acquisition in 1784, as one of the "immortal seventy," of title to 640 acres of land by act of the North Carolina assembly.⁸ It is reasonably certain also that he aided Lieutenant Colonel Gasper Mansker in building a fort near Goodlettsville either in 1779 or in 1780 and that two or three years later he assisted in erecting one near Pilot Knob.⁹

The marriage of James Franklin to Mary Lauderdale, a native of Botetourt County, Virginia, is not of record, although it is probable that the union materialized near the beginning of the Revolution. In 1776, newspaper sketches inform us, they removed to the Holston Valley "with the usual outfit of Tennessee pioneers, a horse, which carried the wife and her marriage portion, and a rifle with which the husband was to make his way in the world. They resided in East Tennessee till the spring of 1780, when they removed westward, and were inmates of the fort at Mansco's [Mansker's] Lick, about a year, and until the occupants of the place were compelled by the Indians to abandon it, and seek safety at . . . [Nashborough]." ¹⁰ A more recent account says that young Franklin, before mar-

⁷ *Ibid.* For the early history of the Cumberland region, see Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee*, I, Chap. IX; James Phelan, *History of Tennessee: The Making of a State* (Boston, 1888), Chaps. XIII-XV; John Haygood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its Earliest Settlement up to the Year 1796* (Nashville, 1891), Chap. III.

⁸ William L. Saunders, Walter Clark, and Stephen B. Weeks (eds.), *The Colonial [and State] Records of North Carolina*, 30 vols. (Raleigh, etc., 1886-1914), XIX, 572; XXIV, 629-30.

⁹ [Anderson], *The Historic Blue Grass Line*, 69.

¹⁰ *Nashville Whig*, September 15, 1846; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, October 7, 1846.

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riage, resided with the Lauderdale family ¹¹ near Bledsoe's Lick, which implies that the ceremony was not performed until after he arrived in the Cumberland region.¹² In 1784 the Franklins settled upon the pre-empted section not far from Pilot Knob, and here their ten children were born, five boys and five girls.¹³

That James Franklin was unlettered is attested by the fact that he signed all legal documents with his mark; that he was a prosperous farmer is indicated by sundry conveyances in the deed records and will books of Sumner County. In 1802 he sold to James Franklin, Jr., 132 acres of land for \$500, and at the same time he deeded 130 acres to his son John for the same amount.¹⁴ In 1815 he sold Isaac 132 acres for \$500,¹⁵ but in 1827 he gave William 239 acres "for & in Consideration of natural love & affection & for diverse other good Considerations."¹⁶ All four of these tracts were located on the north side of Cumberland River, and apparently they embraced contiguous territory.

¹¹ Jay Guy Cisco, *Historic Sumner County, Tennessee . . .* (Nashville, 1909), 269-70, traces the Lauderdals back to the Maitland family of England, one of whom became Lord Lauderdale. The progenitor of the family in America, he says, migrated to Pennsylvania in 1714 but soon moved to Botetourt County, Virginia. Cisco cites 1794 as the date when James Lauderdale, "the founder of the Sumner County branch," settled in Tennessee. For mention of James Franklin, see *ibid.*, 20, 33.

¹² [Anderson], *The Historic Blue Grass Line*, 69.

¹³ James, John, Isaac, William, Albert, Jane, Ann, Sally, Betsy, and a fifth daughter who married one Purvis.

¹⁴ Sumner County (Tennessee) Deed Record, III (1800-1805), 310-11. All Sumner County deed and will books referred to in this study are preserved in the courthouse at Gallatin, Tennessee.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VII (1814-1817), 280-81.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XI (1825-1828), 365-66. William Franklin immediately deeded the same tract of land to his father "for & during his natural life & no longer." This was the tract upon which James Franklin was then living. *Ibid.*, 367.

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In his will, recorded in 1828, James Franklin bequeathed his land on the north side of the West Fork of Station Camp Creek to his sons Isaac and James. To John he gave \$100; to William two slaves, Jacob and Moses. Ann Wood and Betsy Franklin, daughters, were each willed a slave valued at \$500, and his grandchildren, Polly and James Purvis, were given \$50 apiece. The remainder of his negroes and property of whatever kind was to be divided into five equal parts and distributed to his daughters Jane and Ann Wood, Sally Gardiner, and Betsy Franklin, the fifth part to be equally divided between his son Albert and his grandson Isaac Purvis. The will further stipulated that his negroes and their increase were not to be sold by the legatees; should Betsy die without issue her share of the property was to be divided among the other daughters. Finally, James Franklin, Jr., and John Wood, a son-in-law, were appointed executors. They gave bond to the amount of \$12,000.¹⁷

Isaac Franklin was essentially a product of the frontier for he received only the slightest formal education. Attendance at a country school alternated with work on his father's farm where he acquired "a familiarity with the pursuits of agriculture." It was a momentous event in his career when in 1807, at the age of eighteen, he entered the service of his elder brothers James and John "as their agent for transporting on the Mississippi the surplus products of the country to New Orleans, and bringing back merchandize in their room." ¹⁸ Franklin's formative years were completed by brief service in the War of 1812,

¹⁷ Sumner County Will Book, II (1823-1842), 91-93.

¹⁸ New Orleans *Daily Delta*, December 19, 1846. See also, Nashville *Whig*, September 15, 1846; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, October 7, 1846.

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probably in a local cavalry company.¹⁹ With the return of peace in 1815, he purchased of his father a tract of land on a tributary of the Cumberland River, where he lived until he acquired the Fairvue place more than a decade later.

Franklin's scattered financial interests necessitated much travel and his social position acquired through wealth prompted vacations at popular resorts. Although John Armfield, his nephew and slave-trading partner, managed the firm's business in Alexandria, D. C., Franklin himself often journeyed to the purchasing quarters and in 1834 he continued north to New York.²⁰ He spent a large portion of each year at Natchez and New Orleans, the firm's distributing centers in the Southwest. Franklin usually went south in September or October and returned to Fairvue in April or May. After he retired from the slave trade in the middle thirties, he divided his time between his Tennessee and Louisiana plantations. A man of leisure and financial independence, he frequented

¹⁹ Thomas Barry, one of Franklin's neighbors in Sumner County, said in 1851: "I have heard it stated by soldiers, who were with him, that he was in the War of 1812; of this, I have no doubt; I have heard Governor [William] Trousdale [of Sumner County] speak of Mr. Franklin being in the army, and describe the horse he rode, and the arms he carried about his person." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 298. Eli Odem, William Cantrell, and Colonel George Elliott declared in 1851 that they had known Franklin in the army in 1814. *Ibid.*, 277, 283, 287.

²⁰ In Franklin's account book under date of 1834, he recorded:

"To my expenses from Natchez to Alexandria

400

"To N York

137.50

"My expenses . . . home

225"

Two of Franklin's account books with sporadic entries from 1825 ff. are extant. These were lent to the writer by Mr. Harry Franklin of Gallatin, Tennessee.

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Tennessee watering places for summer vacations,²¹ and occasionally sojourned at Virginia springs.

Although Franklin always looked upon Fairvue as his home plantation, for business reasons he changed his official residence to New Orleans in 1832.²² However, in 1840, at the suggestion of Armfield, he returned his domicile temporarily to Tennessee to permit the firm of Ballard, Franklin, and Company to bring suits in a federal court for the collection of debts. With the settlement of these matters after a few months, Franklin again became a citizen of Louisiana, this time with his official residence in West Feliciana Parish.²³

In politics Franklin was a "decided" Democrat and "a strong Polk man." ²⁴ A Sumner County contemporary asserted that he "took a very lively interest in politics," ²⁵ but a neighbor in West Feliciana Parish observed that he did not work "much in the way of electioneering, although he expressed his opinions freely." ²⁶ A Tensas Parish acquaintance recalled that Franklin represented

²¹ The Borean Springs, the Bovair Springs in the Cumberland Mountains, and Tyree's Springs in Sumner County are mentioned in the records. *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 276, 281, 289, 291, 292, 362. A description of Tyree's Springs is available in the *Nashville Whig*, July 12, 1839:

"This celebrated and popular Watering place, has been purchased by the undersigned, and is now open for the reception of visitors and invalids under his immediate superintendence.—The cabins have been newly fitted up, and the Springs much improved. A newly discovered *White Sulphur* spring, in the vicinity, has been purchased by the subscriber and added to the establishment. An analysis of the water, by Dr. G. Troost, will be published in a few days.

"The terms of board will be moderate and the fare the best the country will afford."

"John M. Curle."

²² 7 La. Ann. 395 (1852); *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 338.

²³ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 338, 342.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 296, 298, 359.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 298.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 369.

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his parish in a Democratic convention in New Orleans on January 8, 1840;²⁷ as Andrew Jackson was "received" in the city on that date,²⁸ the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, it is quite possible that Franklin was there, but he could not have been a delegate to a convention as none assembled. There is evidence that he voted in Tennessee as well as in Louisiana, and in 1841 and again in 1843 he cast his ballot for James K. Polk for governor of the former state.²⁹

Family life for Isaac Franklin began when he was quite a mature man; he was fifty when he was married to Miss Adelia Hayes in 1839. It is a fact of some significance that he did not marry the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman, Oliver B. Hayes, until after he retired from the slave trade and began to concentrate upon a career as a Southern planter. There is local tradition in the Gallatin vicinity that the younger set of Nashville were frequently entertained by the bachelor master of Fairvue and that the journey thither was often made in the winter time by bobsled. It was upon one of these rides to Fairvue, so the legend runs, that one of the girls dared twenty-year-old Adelia, a graduate of the Nashville Female Academy, to win the heart (and at the same time the wealth) of Isaac Franklin. Whether the story be true or not, and whether the original attachment were love or money or both, the match materialized and a Nashville paper announced early in July of 1839:

MARRIED,

On the morning of the 2nd inst., by Rev. Dr. [J. T.] Edgar,

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 360.

²⁸ *New Orleans Courier de la Louisiane*, January 9, 1840.

²⁹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 274, 276, 278, 281, 284, 298.

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Isaac Franklin Esq. of Sumner County, to Miss Adelia, daughter of Rev. O. B. Hayes of this vicinity.³⁰

From the Hayes residence near Nashville, Armfield recorded years later, "they came direct to my dwellinghouse, then in the town of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia. After spending the greater portion of the summer at the North, and at the Virginia springs, they returned to Mr. Franklin's residence . . . and there remained until the usual time of his return to Louisiana." ³¹

The family into which Franklin married was one of considerable prominence in Middle Tennessee. Oliver Bliss Hayes (1783-1858) was a New Englander who received a classical and legal education before he settled in Nashville in 1808. He formed a law partnership with Thomas Hart Benton, his practice extended through a large part of central Tennessee, and his counsel was particularly sought in land cases. After attaining some distinction and a considerable competence at the bar, he retired from the legal profession and entered the ministry. His father, Reverend Joel Hayes, had served as pastor of the Congregational Church at South Hadley, Connecticut,

³⁰ Nashville *Whig*, July 5, 1839. A similar announcement appeared in the Nashville *Union*, July 8, 1839, in which the groom was alluded to as "Col. Isaac Franklin."

There are vague intimations in the testimony of Franklin's Sumner County neighbors that he had kept "likely" mulatto girls at Fairvue as concubines prior to his marriage. *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 277, 282-83. Eli Odem, whose farm adjoined the Fairvue place, said in 1851 regarding Franklin's marriage relations: "There seemed to be as much harmony and good feeling existing between Mr. Franklin and his wife, as I ever saw any where; he seemed to be as much devoted to her, and she to him, as I ever saw between man and wife." *Ibid.*, 282. William Harvey remarked: "From my knowledge of Mr. Franklin, being a near neighbor, and from his general reputation, I believe him to have (been) a virtuous man after his marriage, and conducted himself with great propriety." *Ibid.*, 277.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 341.

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for nearly half a century. Oliver was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, but he served only as an occasional preacher.³²

Franklin's marriage alliance was a distinct advantage—an important step in his transition from slave trader to planter. His father-in-law was a respected citizen of Nashville, a member of two honorable professions, and not unknown in political circles. A very cordial and personal relationship existed between the two. While Franklin was in Louisiana attending to his planting interests, Hayes managed his business interests in Nashville and Gallatin. For the five or six years following Franklin's death, Hayes served as one of the executors and devoted much of his time to the management of the several Louisiana plantations.

There is casual evidence that Franklin and Hayes carried on considerable correspondence, although only two of Isaac's letters to his father-in-law are extant. From one of them it appears that Hayes manifested much interest in Franklin's "final destiny" which brought an expression of "gratitude for your kind solicitude for my future." That Franklin possessed some very human qualities, in spite of fifteen or twenty years as a slave trader, is indicated by another portion of the same letter. The Franklins and the Armfields shared a house in New Orleans for the year 1845–1846,³³ and during the winter months had as their

³² W. W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia, 1880), 107, 451. Hayes' mother was Mary Bliss of Wilbraham, Massachusetts, a descendant of the second president of Harvard College, Charles Chauncy. There were seven children in the family: Oliver B., Joel, Jr., Rosswell, Mary, Harriet, Catherine B., and Julia Ann. *Ibid.*, 451.

³³ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 769, 778. See also, *ibid.*, 358, 363, 372. The residence was a three-story brick house at 186 Canal Street. Franklin leased it of Lucius C. Duncan for eleven months at \$100 per month.

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guest Mrs. Franklin's sister Laura. Concerning her welfare and other family affairs Franklin wrote to Hayes on January 2: "We are all well except the youngest child, who has a bad cold; Laura is taking polka lessons; she has been attending some parties, and will have an opportunity of attending a good many during 'the carnival [Mardi Gras] and the opera.' I think she is gradually gaining confidence, the want of which has been a great drawback on her enjoyments; she is very amiable, and disposed to take advice; . . . I always go with her to take her lessons. . . . If I could leave my family I would come up; Ade[licia] will not hear to it. Give my love to all, and accept for yourself assurances as usual. Laura, Ade[licia] and the children all join in love to all." ³⁴

Three children were born to the Franklins between 1840 and 1843, Victoria, Adelicia, and Emma. It is of record that Franklin built "a small play-house" for them in the yard at his Fairvue place,³⁵ and that he "laid up . . . a cask or pipe of fine wine, to be drank at the marriage of his daughter, Victoria." ³⁶ One of the reasons for spending the year 1845-1846 in New Orleans was to provide opportunity for at least the eldest girl to attend school.

A trip to the West Feliciana plantations in the spring of the year augmented a brief illness from which Franklin did not recover. He died on April 27, 1846, at the age of fifty-seven.

³⁴ Franklin to Hayes, January 2, 1846, in *ibid.*, 438-39.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 292.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 275.

CHAPTER III

THE ALEXANDRIA ESTABLISHMENT

Historically, the internal traffic in slaves existed in the colonial era, but it was not until the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth that the trade became noticeable. The closing of foreign sources in 1808 gave impetus to the domestic slave trade and the years of peace from 1815 to 1860 saw the business reach vast proportions. The westward movement which began in earnest with the close of the War of 1812 reached its first peak in the eighteen thirties. In the increasing volume of migrants to the new Southwest was a substantial proportion of negro slaves, carried thither either by migrating planters or by professional slave dealers.¹

Although Isaac Franklin made substantial profits as a planter, he accumulated a large portion of his wealth in the slave trade. The trips which he made to New Orleans by way of the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers in the formative period of his career, served to acquaint him with the Southwest, and the growing volume of westward migration clearly revealed the demand for slaves in

¹ For a discussion of the domestic slave trade, see Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918), Chap. XI; *id.*, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), 155-59; Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*; Charles S. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York, 1933), Chap. VII; Winfield H. Collins, *The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States* (New York, 1904); T. D. Clark, "The Slave Trade between Kentucky and the Cotton Kingdom," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1915-), XXI (1935), 331-42.

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that region. Louisiana was admitted into the Union in 1812; Mississippi followed five years later. New Orleans was already a commercial metropolis of considerable size and Natchez was a thriving river town. Sugar culture, which had its commercial beginnings in Louisiana in the last decade of the eighteenth century, demanded the plantation system. North Louisiana and adjacent Mississippi found economic recourse in the cotton staple which permitted the plantation regime. Clearly there was ample opportunity for a man of enterprise and business acumen to supply planters and farmers of the Lower Mississippi Valley with slaves; apparently also New Orleans and Natchez were to become the great slave marts of that region.

Exactly when Franklin entered the long-distance slave trade is not certain, but as early as 1819 he was selling slaves at Natchez.² In 1824 he met John Armfield,³ soon to become his nephew by marriage. Realizing the need for a competent associate to manage the business in the exporting states, Franklin cultivated his acquaintance, and on February 28, 1828, the two formed a partnership to run for five years. The articles of agreement were renewed at the end of that period and the partnership continued until it was dissolved by limitation on November 10, 1841.⁴ From 1828 until the middle thirties they were the leading slave traders engaged in the long-distance

² Adams County (Mississippi) Deed Record, K, 491. All Adams County deed records referred to in this study are preserved in the courthouse at Natchez.

³ "Mr. Isaac Franklin found Mr. Armfield driving a stage in Old Virginia and brought him to Tennessee where he married Martha Franklin his [Isaac Franklin's] niece." Letter to Mr. Douglas Anderson, Madison, Tennessee, from a friend in Los Angeles, December 15, 1912. The writer is indebted to Mr. Anderson for a copy of this letter.

⁴ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 337-38. The dissolution of the partnership was recorded in Adams County Deed Record, DD, 108-09. Notice of the dissolution was published in the *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette*, November 12, 1841.

traffic. As their business grew, other individuals became associated with the firm of Franklin and Armfield.⁵

Professional slave dealers who engaged in the business on a large scale invested considerable capital in equipment. Each aspect of the trade demanded adequate paraphernalia: a slavepen in the exporting states in which slaves purchased in the surrounding territory were assembled and prepared for the journey to the Southwest; the means of transportation, whether overland or by water; ⁶ and one or more distributing centers in the importing states of the Southwest, similar to that maintained in the exporting states.⁷ As will appear in this and subsequent chapters, the firm of Franklin and Armfield was well equipped in the several mechanics of the traffic.

Of the exporting states, the old tobacco area of the colonial period had the greatest surplus of slaves and therefore provided the richest field for professional traders. Although there were few slaves in the District of Columbia, sundry traders established themselves there because of its location in the center of an important buying market. The business thrived in Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, all located on the Potomac and possessing water communication with ports of the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts. With keen insight into business conditions, Franklin and Armfield established their headquarters at Alexandria and continued there as long as they traded in slaves. Located on the southern side of the Potomac six miles below Washington, the village escaped some of the official scrutiny turned upon the Capital City, but was close enough to possess most of its business ad-

⁵ *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, May 9, 1833.

⁶ In the closing years of the ante-bellum period, slaves were transported by railroad. See Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 289-92.

⁷ Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 192.

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vantages. To that center the copartners gathered in a large share of the surplus slaves of Virginia and Maryland.⁸

By the middle of May, 1828, the firm was ready for business and advertised in an Alexandria newspaper:

Cash in Market.

The subscribers having leased for a term of years the large three story brick house on Duke street, in the town of Alexandria, D. C. formerly occupied by Gen. Young, we wish to purchase one hundred and fifty likely young negroes of both sexes between the ages of 8 and 25 years. Persons who wish to sell will do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give more than any other purchasers that are in market, or that may hereafter come into market.

Any letters addressed to the subscribers through the Post Office at Alexandria, will be promptly attended to. For information, enquire at the above described house, as we can at all times be found there.⁹

Five years later the firm offered "Cash for any number of likely Negroes, of both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age," and specified both "Field Hands" and "Mechanics of every description."¹⁰ In 1836 the partners advertised "*Cash for five hundred Negroes*" from ten to twenty-five years of age.¹¹ In all of their announcements they insisted that they would pay higher cash prices than any of their present or future competitors.¹²

⁸ For a good discussion of the traffic in the District of Columbia, see Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, Chap. III.

⁹ *Alexandria Gazette*, May 17, 1828.

¹⁰ *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, May 9, 1833.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1836. This advertisement was copied by William Jay, *A View of the Action of the Federal Government, in Behalf of Slavery* (Utica, 1844), 38. See also *id.*, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery* (Boston, 1853), 270.

¹² In the *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, May 28, 1834, the firm advertised

"Cash for any number of negroes

Including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having likely serv-

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To facilitate collection, the firm had agents in several Virginia and Maryland towns: at Richmond, Rice C. Ballard and Company, later associated with Franklin and Armfield under the firm name, Ballard, Franklin, and Company; at Warrenton, Virginia, J. M. Saunders and Company;¹³ at Frederick, Maryland, George Kephart and Company; at Baltimore, James F. Purvis and Com-

ants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices, in Cash, than any other purchaser who is now, or may hereafter come into the market.

"FRANKLIN, ARMFIELD, & CO."

An almost identical announcement, dated September 1, 1834, and advertising "CASH FOR FOUR HUNDRED NEGROES," was recorded in Jay, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery*, 156. The author said that this advertisement was taken from a sheet published in the Capital.

Armfield inserted the following advertisement in the *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, June 3, 1834, *et seq.*:

"MATCH HORSES WANTED.

"I will give cash for a first rate pair of Bay Horses, of large size, young, and well broke to Harness. Apply to Messrs. Birch & Jones, at Lloyd's Hotel, Washington City, or to the subscriber in Alexandria.

"JOHN ARMFIELD."

¹³ An English traveler, Edward S. Abdy, was introduced to places of interest in Warrenton by "a medical man, of pleasing manners and a well-informed mind. . . . He pointed out to me a man, of whom he spoke with great abhorrence and aversion. He was a 'trader', employed to purchase slaves for the southern market. So much was the business, in which he was engaged, detested, that no respectable person in the place would speak to him. 'If that is the case,' I observed, 'he must be well paid to make up for loss of character.' 'He is so,' was the reply; 'he has been here a long time, and has made a large fortune.' I suspected that he was one of Armfield's myrmidons; and the suspicion was shortly after confirmed by an old grey-headed negro." *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America, from April, 1833, to October, 1834*, 3 vols. (London, 1835), II, 209-10.

Abdy's journey took him through Culpeper to Orange. He later "found that the hotel [at "Orange Court-house"], where we had breakfasted most luxuriously, was kept by a 'trader'; who, so far from sharing the fate of his brother merchant at Warrenton, had all the profits of the business without its odium; was in high favor with visitors from the South; and was not a little respected by his neighbors. His gains from this diabolical traffic must be enormous, as he has been known to make a thousand dollars in the course of a week, by buying and selling his fellow-creatures, as bullocks are disposed of in Smithfield-market." *Ibid.*, 215.

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pany;¹⁴ and at Easton on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Thomas M. Jones.¹⁵ Some of these as well as other traders frequently consigned slaves directly to the senior member of the firm at Natchez and New Orleans.

Franklin and Armfield's extensive trade, together with the enviable business reputation of the partners, attracted travelers and investigators as well as buyers and sellers. Thither Professor E. A. Andrews of Boston,¹⁶ agent of "The American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race," resorted in 1835 "to see the slaves collected for transportation, and to ascertain the details of the traffic." His letters to the organization he represented form an important commentary on the trade as it existed in Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, and one of them and parts of others are devoted to the establishment of Franklin and Armfield at Alexandria. A year or two earlier an Englishman, Edward S. Abdy, toured the United States and recorded in his journal an account of a visit to their slavepen.¹⁷ And in 1841, five years after the partners had disposed of their quarters, Joseph Sturge, another English traveler, described the Alexandria establishment.¹⁸

¹⁴ James Franklin Purvis was a nephew of Isaac Franklin.

¹⁵ Advertisement in *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, May 9, 1833. See also, Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 59, n. 38.

¹⁶ E. A. Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States* (Boston, 1836). His letter describing the slavepen of Franklin and Armfield was dated at Alexandria, July 24, 1835. *Ibid.*, 135-43.

¹⁷ Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States*, II, 179-80.

¹⁸ Joseph Sturge, *A Visit to the United States in 1841* (London, 1842), 85. The chief objects of his visit, Sturge recorded in his preface, "were the universal abolition of slavery, and the promotion of permanent international peace." *Ibid.*, v. On the same day (June 7, 1841) that he visited the slavepen at Alexandria, he presented to the President and members of Congress an open letter or memorial, having been "commissioned [to do so] by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." *Ibid.*, 84.

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Franklin was fortunate in having John Armfield as his business partner. Much of the responsibility for the success of the firm rested upon his shoulders. He must be a discriminating buyer or there would be no profits at Natchez and New Orleans. At the same time, he must establish a reputation for honesty and fair-dealing to acquire and maintain the confidence of planters in the Chesapeake region. He was also obligated to work harmoniously with other traders in Maryland and Virginia who were associated with the firm in collecting and forwarding slaves to the establishments in the Southwest. That he possessed the required qualities was attested by several contemporaries. Andrews described him as "a man of fine personal appearance, and of engaging and graceful manners."¹⁹ Abdy discovered that "He bears a good character, and is considered a charitable man."²⁰ The editor of the New Orleans *Daily Delta*, who had known Armfield for years, asserted in 1846 that "in the whole circle of our acquaintance we do not know a more honorable and upright man," nor one more judicious in managing his business interests.²¹ Andrews "was assured, in Alexandria, that it was not uncommon for servants in that town, when about to be sold, to request that they might be sold to Mr. Armfield" with whom they filed applications requesting purchase. Further, "by his resolute efforts to prevent kidnapping, and by his honorable mode of dealing," Armfield had "acquired the confidence of all the neighboring country."²² On the other hand, an English traveler, G. W. Featherstonhaugh, who encountered Armfield as he conducted an overland coffle to

¹⁹ Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 136.

²⁰ Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States*, II, 180.

²¹ New Orleans *Daily Delta*, December 19, 1846.

²² Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 150.

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the Southwest, left a very disparaging account of the junior partner which will find its proper place in the following chapter.²³

To buyers and sellers and visitors alike, Armfield was the soul of courtesy. He and his employees were always willing to show the establishment to callers regardless of the missions which prompted their visits. Andrews had some misgivings that permission to inspect the quarters would be refused, "but these apprehensions were soon dispelled, for he immediately, and apparently with great readiness, complied with my request." Summoning "an assistant or clerk, he directed him to accompany me to every part of the establishment."²⁴ Abdy did not find Armfield at home when he called in April, 1834. "Two of his men, however, were standing at the door; and as my guide was familiarly acquainted with them, we were admitted without difficulty. We were ushered into a well-furnished room, and invited to take wine, some bottles of which were standing on a side-board, for the accommodation, doubtless, of purchasers. I declined: my companion was less scrupulous." But Abdy was not satisfied on one point; he had "heard a great deal of a dungeon, where the refractory are confined," from a lady who had hearsay evidence "of the thumb-screws, and other instruments of coercion." He was informed by his guide, however, "that there was no room of the kind. It was not to be expected," Abdy concluded, "that I should be allowed to visit such a place; to deny the existence of which would be the natural consequence of having it."²⁵

The assembling quarters of the firm were located on

²³ *Post*, pp. 45-50.

²⁴ Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 136.

²⁵ Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States*, II, 179-80.

Duke Street "in a retired quarter in the southern part of the city."²⁶ The establishment comprised a three-story brick dwellinghouse, which also served as an office, and three spacious courts. Two of these were "nearly surrounded with neatly white-washed two-story buildings, devoted to the use of the slaves." When Abdy called there were but three men and four or five women in the respective yards,²⁷ but Andrews, who visited the stockade in July, found fifty or sixty men and thirty or forty women, most of them from eighteen to thirty. The male slaves "were standing or moving about in groups, some amusing themselves with rude sports, and others engaged in conversation, which was often interrupted by loud laughter, in all the varied tones peculiar to the negroes." They were "neatly and comfortably dressed," and their food was "wholesome and abundant." Andrews "observed the most studied attention paid to cleanliness"; the hospital was unoccupied, "such was the health of the slaves at this time." From the tailor shop each slave received two suits of clothes at his departure, but these were not to be worn until he arrived at the Western market. With few exceptions the women "looked contented and happy," and "considerable taste was displayed" in their clothing.²⁸

²⁶ For pictures of the Alexandria establishment, see Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, facing pp. 92, 94. When the writer visited Alexandria in the summer of 1934, the three-story building had been converted into a rooming house.

²⁷ Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States*, II, 179. "Both departments," said Abdy, "were well provided with fires; the room destined to the inmates of each having a stove, round which, as it was a very cold day, they were collected. I was assured they were well fed,—an assertion that will readily obtain credit from every one who considers that it is the interest of the seller to keep his 'cattle' in good condition; and, as a 'sulky one' is not likely to find a buyer, everything would be done to keep them in good humor." *Ibid.*, 179–80.

²⁸ Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 136–41.

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That Franklin and Armfield had some regard for family ties cannot be doubted. On one occasion, Andrews was informed, the firm "had purchased, from one estate, more than fifty, in order to prevent the separation of family connections; and in selling them, they had been equally scrupulous to have them continue together. In this case, however, they had sacrificed not less than one or two thousand dollars, which they might have obtained by separating them, as they would have sold much better in smaller lots." Traders must constantly keep in mind what buyers wanted. "Married slaves . . . were generally preferred by purchasers to those who were single, because their owner felt more sure that they would be contented, and stay at home." Mothers with small children "were less saleable than others" in the Southwestern market.²⁹

Ship manifests from the New Orleans customhouse, preserved in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress,³⁰ also present evidence that on occasion slaves were purchased and forwarded in families to the distributing quarters in the Southwest. The following portion of a manifest of January 25, 1833,³¹ representing a shipment from Alexandria to Natchez by way of New Orleans, is silent testimony of the firm's good intentions:

<i>Names of Slaves</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Feet Inches</i>	<i>Complexion</i>
1 William Onnes	26	5 11	Black
2 Dibby Onnes	28	5 4	Yellow
3 William Onnes	12	4 5	"

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 139.

³⁰ For fuller treatment of ship manifests, see *post*, Chap. IV.

³¹ Manifest of 130 slaves (misnumbered 131) on board the *Ariel* of Norfolk, William Smith, Master, 179 32/95 tons, bound from Alexandria to Natchez by way of New Orleans. Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. There is indirect evidence in the remaining portion of the manifest that families had been separated.

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<i>Names of Slaves</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Feet Inches</i>		<i>Complexion</i>
4 Henry Onnes	6	4	5	Yellow
5 Susan Onnes	4	3	3½	"
6 Emily Onnes	3	2	8	"
7 Abreham Digs	30	5	8	Black
8 Kitty Digs	30	5	2¾	"
9 Charles Digs	14	4	8½	"
10 Caroline Digs	11	4	2	"
11 Abreham Digs	7	3	8¾	"
12 Mahaley Digs	3	2	11	"
13 Washington Smith	22	5	7	"
14 Betty Smith	22	5	3	Yellow
15 Washington Smith	5	3	5½	"
16 Eliza Smith	4	3	—	"
17 Richard Smith	9 mo.	—	—	"
18 Sary Mason	40	5	6½	Black
19 Sary Mason	14	5	½	"
20 Eliza Mason	11	4	5	"
21 George Mason	12	4	5	"
22 William Mason	5	3	8½	"
23 Thomas Mason	3	—	—	"
24 Harriett Thomas	18	5	5½	Yellow
25 Henry Thomas	6 mo.	—	—	"
26 Philis Woodward	21	5	3	Black
27 Madison Woodward	3	2	3	"
28 Mitty Carter	20	5	½	"
29 Susan Carter	3	2	9½	"
30 Sevenia Carter	3 mo.	—	—	"
31 Juliett Buckingham	17	5	5	Yellow
32 Dorsey Buckingham	19	5	5½	"

Other manifests list families of slaves, but they are also replete with evidence that families had been separated.³² The usual manifest, though it frequently catalogues husbands with wives and mothers with small children, names many males and females of marriageable age that are ap-

³² *Post, passim.*

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parently unattached. Children from eleven years upward are repeatedly listed without mothers, and occasionally the names of orphans of ten or less appear in the records.³³ Even the manifest just quoted cannot be interpreted to mean that the families were sold in groups after they reached Louisiana or Mississippi. It was expedient, however, for Franklin and Armfield to promote the impression that they had regard for family ties, and it was profitable on occasion for them to lose on a single transaction in order to gain the good will of farmers and planters in Maryland and Virginia.

³³ A Louisiana law of January 31, 1829, provided "that no slave child, or children, ten years of age, or under, shall be introduced into this state, unaccompanied by his, her, or their mother, if living." The same act made it illegal to "sell the mother of any slave child or children, ten years of age or under, separate from said mother." *Louisiana Acts*, 1828-1829, p. 48.

CHAPTER IV

FROM ALEXANDRIA TO NATCHEZ AND NEW ORLEANS

The act of March 2, 1807, prohibiting the foreign slave trade contained provisions which limited but permitted the coastwise traffic. Section eight forbade any ship of less than forty tons burden to carry slaves and specified a penalty of \$800 for each slave illicitly transported. Section nine provided that any vessel of forty tons burden or more could engage in the coastwise trade on condition that duplicate manifests be delivered to the collector of the port from which clearance papers were obtained. One of the copies, properly certified, was returnable to the master of the vessel who, according to the tenth and last section, was obligated to deliver it to the collector of the port of destination before the slaves could debark. The act did not contain provisions prescribing safety and sanitary regulations for carriers.¹

The firm of Franklin and Armfield purchased a thousand to twelve hundred slaves annually to send to the Southwest.² The Reverend Joshua Leavitt,³ who visited

¹ *Laws of the United States of America, from the 4th of March, 1789, to the 4th of March, 1815 . . .*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia and Washington, 1815-1816), IV, 94-99. The act of 1807 is analyzed in John R. Spears, *The American Slave-Trade; An Account of Its Origin, Growth and Suppression* (New York, 1900), 173. Chapter XVII of this work relates some "Tales of the Coastwise Slave-Ships."

² Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 148.

³ Joshua Leavitt (1794-1873), a Congregational minister, was a native of Massachusetts. He studied law at Northampton and theology at Yale. As editor

Report on the Manifest. The cargo of slaves on board the ship "Hector" of the
 Henry C. Bell Co. from the 15th to 29th June, 1858, being from the Port of Charleston
 in the District of Columbia to New Orleans in the State of Louisiana.

No.	Name of Slave	Age		Complexion	By Whom Shipped	Residence of Shipper	To Where Consigned	Residence of Consignor
		Sex	Years					
1	William Shivers	Male	25	Black	F. H. Campbell	Hammond	New Orleans	New Orleans
2	William D.	Male	30	Black	do	do	do	do
3	Robert G. H. H.	Male	20	Black	do	do	do	do
4	Thomas Butler	Male	30	Black	do	do	do	do
5	John P. H.	Male	20	Black	do	do	do	do
6	William H. H.	Male	22	Black	do	do	do	do
7	John H. H.	Male	17	Black	do	do	do	do
8	John H. H.	Male	20	Black	do	do	do	do
9	John H. H.	Male	26	Black	do	do	do	do
10	John H. H.	Male	20	Black	do	do	do	do
11	John H. H.	Male	20	Black	do	do	do	do

PORTION OF A SHIP MANIFEST, LISTING 11 OF A TOTAL OF 78 SLAVES

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the "slave-factory" at Alexandria early in 1834, "was 'informed by one of the principals, that the number of slaves carried from the District last year was about one thousand, but it would be much greater this year. He expected *their house* alone would ship at least eleven or twelve hundred.' " ⁴

By far the greater number of slaves which Franklin and Armfield sent to the Southwest were transported by ship. Although the firm eventually owned a fleet of three or four slavers, vessels of other individuals were employed on occasion to forward their negroes to New Orleans and Natchez. On December 26, 1828, Armfield consigned forty-six slaves to Franklin at New Orleans on board the schooner *Lafayette*, and Henry Dawson consigned twenty-one to Franklin on the same ship.⁵ Again in 1831 and in 1833 the firm transported slaves to New Orleans on the *Lafayette*.⁶ On December 24, 1829, forty slaves were for-

of several magazines, including the *Evangelist* and the *Emancipator*, and as a member of the executive committee of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, he was an influential opponent of the institution of slavery. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XI, 84-85.

⁴ Jay, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery*, 157.

⁵ Ship Manifest, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise designated, all manifests cited in this study are preserved in the Library of Congress.

⁶ On March 31, 1831, Armfield consigned eighty-nine slaves to New Orleans on the schooner *Lafayette*, but only seventy of them were sent to Franklin. Thirteen were consigned to John Woolfolk, three to C. Castangent, and three to A. Robinson, all of New Orleans.

On January 16, 1833, the firm shipped eighty-three slaves on board the *Lafayette*, though only forty of them were consigned to Franklin. Twenty-four were sent to John Hagan and Company, eighteen to "Order, N. O.," and one to William Thompson. The destination of the *Lafayette*, according to the manifest, was Natchez.

A manifest of 100 slaves shipped on the *Lafayette*, January 8, 1831, by Armfield and consigned to Franklin at New Orleans, is preserved in the New Orleans customhouse. The writer is indebted to Mr. Stanley C. Arthur, State Supervisor, Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, for a copy of this manifest.

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warded to the Louisiana metropolis by the *Shenandoah* of Georgetown. Seventy-three slaves out of a total of 112 on board the schooner *James Monroe* of Norfolk were shipped by Armfield on March 10, 1831, forty-one of them to Franklin at New Orleans and twenty-two to A. Robinson of the same city. Eighty-nine were sent on January 25, 1833, thirty-nine of whom were consigned to John A. Hagan and fifty to Franklin, on the *Ariel* of Norfolk. And finally, on November 1, 1834, the brig *Orion* carried thirty-two slaves of Rice C. Ballard and two of Thomas B. Small, both of Richmond, to Franklin at New Orleans.

Probably in 1828, at least by the following year, Franklin and Armfield purchased the *United States*, "a fast sailing packet brig" of slightly more than 158 tons burden, of which Henry C. Bell was master for many years.⁷ The *Tribune*, a brig of approximately the same capacity, with Isaac Staples as master, was soon added to their equipment.⁸ When Andrews visited Alexandria in July, 1835, one of the firm's brigs, probably the *Tribune*, was "hauling in," another, the *Uncas*, he was informed, was then at Baltimore, and a third, undoubtedly the *Isaac Franklin*,

⁷ Advertisement in *Phenix Alexandria Gazette*, December 22, 1829:

"For New-Orleans,

"To sail from this port, about the 15th January the fast sailing packet brig
UNITED STATES

Henry C. Bell, Master

"Persons wishing to ship, will please make early application to
Franklin & Armfield."

The New Orleans *Price-Current and Commercial Intelligencer*, November 10, 1827, listed a brig, the *United States*, Bell, master, 234 tons burden, as being in port. Whether this is the same brig that Franklin and Armfield later owned, with an incorrect statement of tonnage, is uncertain. The *United States*, 152 tons burden, Bell, master, was noted as arriving in New Orleans in January, 1828. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1828. From that time forward this brig made regular trips to New Orleans. Cf. ship manifests, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

⁸ *Ibid.*; New Orleans *Bee*, October 18, 1831.

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was in the process of construction at Baltimore "expressly for this trade."⁹ To attract the attention of prospective passengers and to solicit business from other traders, advertisements were frequently inserted in Alexandria and Washington newspapers. The following notice appeared in an Alexandria paper, probably in 1834:

Brig TRIBUNE, Captain Smith, and Brig UNCAS, Captain Boush, will resume their regular trips on the 20th of October: one of which will leave this port every thirty days throughout the shipping season. They are vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced officers, and will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion [will be] used to promote the interests of shippers and comfort of passengers.¹⁰

A Washington paper advertised the firm's ships in 1835:

ALEXANDRIA AND NEW ORLEANS PACKETS.

Brig TRIBUNE, Samuel C. Boush, Master, will sail as above on the 15th inst., (Nov.); brig ISAAC FRANKLIN, William Smith Master, on the 1st December; brig UNCAS, Nathaniel Boush, master, on the 15th December.

They will continue to leave this port on the 1st and 15th of each month throughout the shipping season. They are all vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced and accommodating officers, will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion [will be] used to promote the interest of shippers and comfort of passengers.

Shippers may prevent a disappointment by having their bills of lading ready the day previous to sailing, as they will go promptly at the time.

Servants that are intended to be shipped, will at any time be received for safe keeping at 25 cents per day.¹¹

⁹ Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 148.

¹⁰ Quoted in Jay, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery*, 157.

¹¹ Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 6, 1835.

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One of Franklin and Armfield's slavers was in port when Leavitt visited their Alexandria establishment early in 1834. He sought and received permission to go on board:

- ✓ Her name is the TRIBUNE. The Captain very obligingly took us to all parts of the vessel. The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after-hold will carry about eighty women, and the other about one hundred men. On either side were *two platforms* running the whole length; one raised a few inches, and the other half way up to the deck. They were about five or six feet deep. On these the slaves lie, as close as
、 they can stow away.¹²

A description of the *Isaac Franklin* is available in the "Register of Vessels, Port of New Orleans," apparently a little-used source of nautical information. On April 22, 1836, the master, William Smith of Alexandria, subscribed to the required oath of registry: "that John Armfield of the town of Alexandria . . . is the true and only owner of the Ship or Vessel called the Isaac Franklin . . . and that the said Ship or Vessel was Built at Baltimore state of Maryland in the year 1835." The slaver was a square-sterned brig with one deck, two masts, a bast head, but no galleries. She had a tonnage capacity of 189, and measured eighty-nine feet five inches in length, twenty-three feet in width, and ten feet four inches in depth.¹³

Important information on the transportation of slaves

¹² Quoted in Jay, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery*, 157-58.

¹³ Register of Vessels, Port of New Orleans, Bk. 7 (1831-1836), 501. This record is housed in the New Orleans customhouse and was made available by the Federal Archives Survey. The volumes for Franklin's period were carefully searched for records of all vessels belonging to his firm, but for some unexplainable reason, only the *Isaac Franklin* was registered. A momentary exultation over finding an entry for the *United States* was dissipated by a discrepancy in tonnage measurement which revealed that there was more than one brig by that name.

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from Eastern ports to the Southwest is available in the ship manifests required by the law of 1807. Sundry of these from the ports of Alexandria, Norfolk, and New Orleans represent consignments of Franklin and Armfield and of other traders associated with the firm. All manifests listed shippers, consignees, the tonnage and master of the ship, the port of clearance, and the destination. More important for the present study, they recorded the names of slaves on board, together with ages, heights, and complexions, whether black, brown, copper, yellow, or mulatto.¹⁴ Occasionally other information of a personal nature was appended either on the journey or upon arrival at the destination. Thus from a manifest of March 31, 1831, it appears that Dick, a black slave twenty-seven years of age and five feet nine inches in height, was re-landed for some reason not stated, and that Jesse Botts,

¹⁴ Section 9 of the act of March 2, 1807, provided that from January 1, 1808, the master of any vessel with a minimum burden of forty tons, "sailing coast-wise, from any port in the United States to any port or place within the jurisdiction of the same, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of color, for the purpose of transporting them, to be sold or disposed of as slaves, or to be held to service or labor, shall, previous to the departure of such ship or vessel, make out and subscribe duplicate manifests of every such negro, mulatto, or person of color, on board such ship or vessel, therein specifying the name and sex of each person, their age and stature, as near as may be, and the class to which they respectively belong, whether negro, mulatto, or person of color, with the name and place of residence of every owner or shipper of the same, and shall deliver such manifests to the collector of the port, if there be one, otherwise to the surveyor, before whom the captain, master, or commander, together with the owner, or shipper, shall severally swear or affirm, to the best of their knowledge and belief, that *the persons therein specified were not imported or brought into the United States from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and that, under the laws of the state, they are held to service or labor*; whereupon the said collector or surveyor shall certify the same on the said manifests, one of which he shall return to the said captain, master, or commander, with a permit, specifying thereon the number, names, and general description, of such persons, and authorizing him to proceed to the port of his destination." *Laws of the United States of America, 1789-1815, V, 97-98.*

twenty-five years of age, was "not on board [and] said to be dead" when the ship reached New Orleans.¹⁵ Rachel Galloway, black, twenty-two, died on a trip from Alexandria to Natchez in January, 1833,¹⁶ and a manifest of November 30 of the same year listed two deaths en route: "Negro boy Henry died on the passage son of Tracy Lee aged 2 mos," and again: "Negro boy Simon died on the passage son [of] Ellen Greenleaf aged 11 mos."¹⁷

Because of the large investment in a cargo of slaves, Franklin and Armfield as well as many other traders carried marine insurance.¹⁸ In January, 1831, the brig *Comet*,¹⁹ of which Isaac Staples was master, cleared from

¹⁵ Ship manifest, schooner *Lafayette*.

¹⁶ Ship manifest, brig *Tribune*.

¹⁷ Mutilated ship manifest, name of ship not available.

¹⁸ Phillips cites a policy issued to William Kenner and Company by the Louisiana Insurance Company, February 18, 1822. The 100 slaves were valued at \$40,000, and the premium amounted to 1¼ per cent. "The risks, specified as assumed in the printed form were those 'of the sea, men of war, fire, enemies, pirates, rovers, thieves, jettison, letters of mart and counter-mart, surprisals, taking at sea, arrests, restraints and detainerments of all kings, princes or people of what nation, condition or quality soever, barratry of the master and mariners, and all other perils, losses and misfortunes that have or shall come to the hurt, detriment or damage of the said goods or merchandize, or any part thereof.'" *American Negro Slavery*, 197.

Andrews relates a story of a trader, "N," who was associated with an uncle in the South Carolina traffic. "Formerly, the firm sent a portion of them by water, and last winter [1834-1835] they despatched two vessels freighted with slaves, one of which reached Charleston safely, but the other, having seventy-five negroes on board, was driven off by storms to Bermuda, where the negroes all escaped to land, and consequently obtained their liberty. Their owners had taken the precaution to get an insurance of \$30,000 upon them, and this sum they expect to recover, but the rest N. supposes that they shall lose. A bystander suggested to him that he would find it for his interest to apply to the government of the island. He replied that this would do no good; that Armfield had lost a whole shipment in the same way, and could get no redress." *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 145-46.

¹⁹ Jay, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery*, 158, says that the *Comet* belonged to Franklin and Armfield. In 1831, he informs us, the brig "had sailed from Alexandria with a cargo of one hundred and sixty slaves, [and] was wrecked

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Alexandria with 164 slaves, 76 of whom belonged to Franklin and Armfield. The brig was "cast away" upon the rocks off the Bahama Banks of the Spanish Key "and became a wreck before day." All of the slaves found temporary refuge upon a nearby reef of rocks and were soon transported by Bahama wrecking ships to Nassau on the island of New Providence. The United States commercial agent there authorized entrance into the harbor. Notwithstanding the presence of a heavy guard, eleven of the slaves escaped to the city and were confined by Nassau authorities. The others were seized and "libeled for forfeiture under the British acts prohibiting the slave trade." The local court dismissed the case, however, and ordered the slaves restored to the master of the *Comet*. The colonial governor then interposed and declared the negroes free. But before the ill-fated vessel departed from Alexandria, forty of the firm's slaves had been insured for \$22,275 with the Mississippi Marine and Fire Insurance Company of New Orleans, and the remaining thirty-six had been insured for \$15,280 with the Louisiana State Insurance Company, also of New Orleans. Both companies paid Franklin the full amount of the policies, and he in return transferred to the companies all claims for recovery against the government of Great Britain.²⁰

on Abaco, one of the Bahamas." The fact that Staples, who was later master of the *Tribune*, commanded the *Comet* is additional evidence that the firm owned the brig.

Register of Vessels, Port of New Orleans, Bk. 5 (1826-1831), 1798, contains an entry for a brig *Comet*, but it cannot be definitely identified as the ship under consideration. It was built in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1821, was 96 feet 7 inches long, 24 feet 4 inches wide, 12 feet 2 inches deep, and measured 225 21/95 tons burden. It was a square-sterned brig, with two decks, two masts, a billet head, but no galleries.

²⁰ A. Stevenson to Lord Palmerston, August 7, 1836, in *Senate Documents*, 24 Cong., 2 Sess. (1836-1837), II, No. 174, pp. 43-44; John Forsyth to Alexander Mouton, April 20, 1840, in *Executive Documents*, 27 Cong., 2 Sess. (1841-1842),

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From the available ship manifests showing consignments of slaves by Franklin and Armfield, it is apparent that seventy-five to a hundred made up the usual cargo, and that the number seldom ran over a hundred and fifty. Ordinarily the firm did not have sufficient slaves at any one time to make up an entire lading, whether using their own or other ships; hence their solicitous newspaper appeals for passengers and competitors' consignments to complete their slavers' cargoes.²¹ According to Andrews, "they ship a cargo once in two months,"²² but in the early thirties the firm sent a shipment either to New Orleans or to Natchez once a month,²³ and by 1835 one of their

V, No. 242, pp. 3-4; John Bassett Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1906), II, 350; Notarial Records (New Orleans), Carlile Pollock, Nos. 394, 396, May 4, 1831 (the notarial records preserved in the civil courthouse at New Orleans are filed under the names of the notaries public).

By 1840 England allowed \$94,352.52 indemnity for the *Comet's* cargo (\$93,899.19 received by the Bank of America after deduction of exchange). Compensation was allowed for all but 18 of the 164 slaves; "11 that escaped to the shore previous to the seizure made by the British colonial authorities, 2 who died, and 5 who, it was alleged, returned to the United States. Of the 164 shipped, 9 were for Colonel Tutt, 9 for Mr. Mudd, and 146 were insured and paid for by three insurance companies of New Orleans." The indemnity was prorated to the three companies and the two individuals. *Executive Documents*, 27 Cong. 2 Sess. (1841-1842), V, No. 242, pp. 3-4.

²¹ It is doubtful if many passengers traveled to the Southwest on the firm's slavers. Only one piece of evidence has been noted: the brig *United States* arrived at New Orleans in March, 1831, with 141 slaves and 4 passengers. *New Orleans Bee*, March 7, 1831.

There is much evidence, however, that other traders' negroes were transported on Franklin and Armfield's vessels. As an example, a manifest of October 16, 1833, brig *Tribune*, listed a total of ninety-three slaves. Numbers one to fifty-seven were shipped by Franklin and Armfield and consigned to Franklin at New Orleans; numbers fifty-eight to eighty-eight were shipped by William A. Linton of Alexandria and consigned to John Linton at New Orleans; numbers eighty-nine to ninety-three were shipped by Franklin and Armfield and consigned to Harvey Elkins of New Orleans.

²² Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 142.

²³ Advertisement in an Alexandria newspaper, quoted in Jay, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery*, 157.

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slavers left Alexandria and New Orleans every fortnight.²⁴ Of the 371 slaves who arrived in New Orleans during the week commencing October 16, nearly 300 came on the *Tribune* and the *United States*; the former arrived from Alexandria with 140 on board at the beginning of the week, and three days later the latter, which had cleared from Norfolk, anchored with 150.²⁵

Not a few of the slaves which Franklin and Armfield transported by water to New Orleans were destined for Natchez and continued up the river to that town.²⁶ Although some slaves from South Atlantic ports were transferred to steamships at New Orleans,²⁷ the firm's advertisements in Alexandria and Washington newspapers promised shippers and passengers that their brigs would ascend the river by steam.

The shipping season was from October to May of each year. During the warmer months, the slavers were used to transport other cargoes, and on return trips during the shipping season, Franklin and Armfield's brigs carried sugar, molasses, whiskey, and cotton to Eastern ports,

²⁴ Advertisement in the *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, November 6, 1835.

²⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, 1811-1849), XLI (1831-1832), 239; *New Orleans Bee*, October 18, 20, 1831.

²⁶ Armfield consigned forty slaves on the *Lafayette* to Franklin at Natchez on January 16, 1833; sixty-eight on the *Tribune* to Franklin at Natchez on January 22, 1833; fifty on the *Ariel* to Franklin at Natchez on January 25, 1833; Ballard consigned forty-three on the *Tribune* to Franklin at Natchez on January 28, 1833; Armfield consigned twenty-six on the *Tribune* to Franklin at Natchez on March 15, 1833; and Ballard consigned eighty-five on the *Tribune* to Franklin at Natchez on March 21, 1833. See ship manifests, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

²⁷ "I have seen more than one hundred [slaves] landing from a brig, on the *Levé*, in New-Orleans, in fine condition, looking as lively and hearty as though a sea voyage agreed well with them. They are transferred, if destined for the Mississippi market, to a steamboat, and landed at Natchez." [J. H. Ingraham], *The South-West*, 2 vols. (New York, 1835), II, 234-35.

though occasionally these vessels cleared with ballast.²⁸

When Franklin and Armfield retired from the slave trading business late in 1836, they sold the *Tribune* and the *Uncas* to William H. (Yellow-House) Williams, and the *Isaac Franklin* as well as the firm's headquarters at Alexandria to George Kephart.²⁹ The partners could not extricate themselves completely from the traffic, however, as there were many outstanding debts due the firm, some of which were still unpaid when Franklin died a decade later. The responsibility of making collections rested mainly with the junior member.

As has already appeared, Armfield sent an annual overland coffle in late summer to the Southwest and, quite naturally, its destination was Natchez.³⁰ During his visit to the Alexandria stockade, Andrews witnessed preparations for the overland trek:

²⁸ On November 26, 1827, the *United States* cleared for Baltimore with 170 hogsheads of sugar (New Orleans *Price-Current and Commercial Intelligencer*, December 1, 1827); in February, 1828, for Norfolk with 162 hogsheads of sugar and 4 barrels of molasses (*ibid.*, February 16, 1828); on April 4, 1828, for Norfolk with 250 barrels of whiskey (*ibid.*, April 12, 1828); on May 27, 1828, for Norfolk with "Ballast" (*ibid.*, May 31, 1828); in November, 1828, for Norfolk with a cargo of 174 hogsheads, 3 barrels of sugar (*ibid.*, November 22, 1828); on July 13, 1829, for Norfolk with 140 hogsheads of sugar (*ibid.*, July 18, 1829); on November 1, 1831, for Baltimore with 174 hogsheads of sugar (New Orleans *Bee*, November 2, 1831); on October 25, 1836, the *Isaac Franklin* cleared with ballast (New Orleans *Price-Current and Commercial Intelligencer*, October 29, 1836); on December 29, 1836, the *Tribune* cleared with 363 barrels of molasses (*ibid.*, December 31, 1836); and on February 1, 1837, the *Uncas* cleared for Portsmouth with 545 bales of cotton and 364 barrels of molasses (*ibid.*, February 4, 1837).

²⁹ See Williams' and Kephart's advertisements in Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 7, 1836; October 21, 1837. See also, Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 64-65.

³⁰ The day following his visit to Alexandria, Andrews was informed by a trader plying the South Carolina trade that Armfield "sends over land but once a year,—in midsummer." *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States*, 148.

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"Passing out at a back gate, we entered another spacious yard, in which four or five tents were spread, and the large wagons, which were to accompany the next expedition, were stationed." ³¹ According to Andrews, the firm sent "a considerable number overland, and those which I saw were to set off in this way in a few days. A train of wagons, with the provisions, tents, and other necessities, accompanies the expedition, and at night they all encamp. . . .

"As it is an object of first importance, that the slaves should arrive at their place of destination 'in good order and well-conditioned,' every indulgence is shown to them, which is consistent with their security, and their good appearance in the market. It is true that they are often chained at night, while at the depot at Alexandria, lest they should overpower their masters, as not more than three or four white men frequently have charge of a hundred and fifty slaves. Upon their march, also, they are usually chained together in pairs, to prevent their escape; and sometimes, when greater precaution is judged necessary, they are all attached to a long chain passing between them. Their guards and conductors are, of course, well armed." ³²

Although the accounts of travelers and sojourners in the South are replete with descriptions of overland coffles, few of them identified the traders to whom they belonged. An exception to this general rule was G. W. Featherstonhaugh, an English geologist on tour from Washington to the Mexican frontier, who encountered a caravan in southwestern Virginia early in September, 1834. Although he did not realize it at the time, the cofle belonged to

³¹ *Ibid.*, 140.

³² *Ibid.*, 142-43.

Franklin and Armfield and the junior partner was escorting it to Natchez.

"Just as we reached New River, in the early grey of the morning," the Englishman recorded, "we came up with a singular spectacle. . . . It was a camp of negro slave-drivers, just packing up to start; they had about three hundred slaves with them, who had bivouacked the preceding night *in chains* in the woods; these they were conducting to Natchez, upon the Mississippi River, to work upon the sugar plantations in Louisiana.³³ It resembled one of those coffles of slaves spoken of by Mungo Park,³⁴ except that they had a caravan of nine waggons [*sic*] and single-horse carriages, for the purpose of conducting the white people, and any of the blacks that should fall lame, to which they were now putting the horses to pursue their march. The female slaves were, some of them, sitting on logs of wood, whilst others were standing, and a great many little black children were warming themselves at the fires of the bivouac. In front of them all, and prepared for the march, stood, in double files, about two hundred male slaves, *manacled and chained to each other.*"

The English traveler "had never seen so revolting a sight before!" After speculating upon the future of the blacks in "a distant and unhealthy country . . . where the duration of life for a sugar-mill slave does not exceed seven years," he turned his attention to their white escort: "To make this spectacle still more disgusting and hideous, some of the principal white slave-drivers [among them Armfield], who were tolerably well dressed, and had

³³ Featherstonhaugh was in error here. Very few slaves sent to the Natchez market were sold to Louisiana sugar planters. He also had a perverted notion of the life span of sugar mill hands.

³⁴ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa . . . in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (2nd edition, London, 1799), 318-63.



A SLAVE COFFLE IN THE BACK COUNTRY

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broad-brimmed white hats on, *with black crape round them*, were standing near, laughing and smoking cigars." The caravan was soon in motion and Featherstonhaugh tarried to watch it cross the river: "first, a man on horseback selected a shallow place in the ford for the male slaves; then followed a waggon and four horses, attended by another man on horseback. The other waggons contained the children and some that were lame, whilst the scows, or flat-boats, crossed the women and some of the people belonging to the caravan. There was much method and vigilance observed, for this was one of the situations where the gangs—always watchful to obtain their liberty—often show a disposition to mutiny, knowing that if one or two of them could wrench their manacles off, they could soon free the rest, and either disperse themselves or overpower and slay their sordid keepers, and fly to the Free States. The slave-drivers, aware of this disposition in the unfortunate negroes, endeavour to mitigate their discontent by feeding them well on the march, and by encouraging them to sing 'Old Virginia never tire,' to the banjo."

A week later Featherstonhaugh and his son boarded a stage coach at Abingdon, Virginia, for Blountville across the line in Tennessee. Among the passengers were two Carolinians, an impertinent "puppy" from Tuscaloosa who had insisted unsuccessfully that the Englishman should take only one trunk, "an exceedingly strange-looking white man, and a negro seated opposite to him." The "white man" was none other than Armfield [still unknown to the Englishman], "a queer tall animal about forty years old, with dark black hair cut round as if he were a Methodist preacher, immense black whiskers, a physiognomy not without one or two tolerable features, but singularly sharp, and not a little piratical and repulsive." He

was dressed in black except for "a huge broad-brimmed white hat, adorned with a black crape." To Featherstonhaugh's suggestion that "his servant ride on the top of the coach and permit my son to come inside . . . his answer was 'I reckon my waiter is very well where he is.' " So Pompey remained inside the coach.

The Tuscaloosan and the "whiskered" gentleman grew quite chummy and both were a source of annoyance until the Englishman found it necessary, in the barroom of a Blountville tavern, to serve the Alabaman "upon his astonished optics with two 'straightforwarders,' right and left." Thenceforward, the narrator was treated with deference. Resuming the journey following an interim at Knoxville where the geologist met "Old Hickory," the "companion in black pronounced a most decided eulogium upon *Gineral* Jackson, but in such language as was quite inimitable. With a strange solemnity of tone and manner, he said, 'The old Gineral is the most greatest and most completest idear of a man what had ever lived. I don't mean to say nothing agin Washington—he was a man too; but Jackson *is* a man, I tell *you*: and when I see'd him in his old white hat, with the mourning crape on it, it made me feel a kind of particular curious.' " Covering "a farrago of bad grammar with an affected pronunciation of his words," he further mystified Featherstonhaugh by saying that he had given his niece a beautiful barouche and that he would soon overtake his own barouche. Wondering to "what stratum in society" a man belonged who appeared so unlettered and yet possessed two expensive barouches, the Englishman queried the driver at the first opportunity. " 'Why,' said the man, 'don't you know its Armfield, the negur-driver?' " Featherstonhaugh then re-

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called that this was one of the men he had seen at the New River crossing, and immediately he accounted for his revolting manners. In answer to the inquiry for whom he was mourning, Armfield, "drawing his physiognomy down to the length of a moderate horse's face," replied, "'Marcus Layfeeyate.'" This gave the Englishman opportunity to observe that Lafayette "'gloried in making all men free, without respect of colour,'" and that it wouldn't surprise him if the Frenchman's "'ghost was to set every one of your negroes free one of these nights.'" This bit of humor so tickled Pompey that he "boiled over into a most stentorious horse-laugh of the African kind. His enraged master now broke out, 'What onder arth is the matter with you, I reckon? If you think I'll stand my waiter's sniggering at me arter that fashion, I reckon you'll come to a nonplush to-night.'" Realizing the serious import of these words, Pompey assumed an attitude of penitence and said contritely, "'Master, I warn't a larfing at you, by no manner of means; I was just a larfing at what dat ar gemmelman said about de ghose.'" "

Armfield soon left the stage, upon a pretense of illness, so Featherstonhaugh thought, instructing his servant to continue in the coach until it overtook the caravan and to return for him in the barouche. Pompey talked more freely after his master left and confirmed the Englishman's "abhorrence of this brutal land-traffic in slaves." Armfield's illness was more real than pretended, the slave thought. "'Master's mighty fond of ingeons [onions],' said he, 'and de doctors in Alexandria tells him not to eat sich lots of ingeons; but when he see's 'em he can't stand it, and den he eats 'em, and dey makes him sick, and den he carries on jist like a house afire; and den he drinks

brandy upon 'em, and dat makes him better; and den he eats ingeons agin, and so he keeps a carrying on.' "

Featherstonhaugh had yet another opportunity of seeing the coffle in camp. Before the stage reached its destination, "but long after sunset, we came to a place where numerous fires were gleaming through the forest: it was the bivouac of the gang. Having prevailed upon the driver to wait half an hour, I went with Pompey—who was to take leave of us here—into the woods, where they were all encamped. There were a great many blazing fires around, at which the female slaves were warming themselves; the children were asleep in some tents; and the males, in chains, were lying on the ground, in groups of about a dozen each. The white men, who were the partners of Pompey's master, were standing about with whips in their hands." ³⁵

In appraising this account of the overland traffic and of a "negur-driver," it should be remembered that it was written by an Englishman who was predisposed to ridicule American manners and customs, and who was particularly prejudiced against the South and slavery. Yet his narrative has real value. Allowing proper discount for his bias and lack of detachment, he recorded a vivid picture of a slave coffle in the back country, and he portrayed Armfield's weaknesses as no other contemporary did. Had he been a more open-minded observer, doubtless he could have found some praiseworthy qualities in Franklin's business partner.

Joseph Holt Ingraham, who wrote anonymously *The South-West*, recorded a description of the overland traf-

³⁵ G. W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States, from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico; with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices*, 2 vols. (London, 1844), I, 119-23, 151-71, *passim*.

fic,³⁶ a selling quarter at Natchez, and the leading trader of the early thirties. It is probable that he alluded to Franklin and it is quite possible that he described his slavepen at Natchez. Doubtless he was generalizing rather than particularizing in his discussion of the method used to "bring them through": "This is done," he said, "by forming them into a caravan at the place where they are purchased, and conducting them by land through the Indian nations to this state [Mississippi]. The route is for the most part through a continuous forest, and is usually performed by the negroes, on foot, in seven or eight weeks. Their personal appearance, when they arrive at Natchez, is by no means improved, although they are usually stouter and in better condition than when they leave home, for they are generally well fed, and their health is otherwise carefully attended to, while on the route. Arrived within two or three miles of Natchez, they encamp in some romantic spot near a rivulet, and like their brethren transported by sea, commence polishing their skins, and arraying themselves in the coarse but neat uniform, which their master has purchased for them in Natchez." ³⁷

The relative advantages of the land and water routes made a frequent topic of conversation. To Ingraham, "of the two ways of bringing slaves here, that by land is preferable; not only because attended with less expense, but by gradually advancing them into the climate, it in a measure precludes the effect which a sudden transition from one state to the other might produce." ³⁸ Andrews encountered a dealer plying the South Carolina trade who

³⁶ For monographic discussion of the overland traffic, see Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 197-98; Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 282-88.

³⁷ [Ingraham], *The South-West*, II, 238.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 243-44.

the river settlements in Mississippi, the flourishing town of Natchez showed most promise. In the decade and a half that Franklin engaged in business there, its population increased from 1,200 to 3,000, the slave population constituting the majority by the middle thirties.³ Ingraham stands authority for the statement that, of the 4,000 negroes brought into Mississippi in 1834, a third were sold at Natchez.⁴ Elsewhere he credits Franklin with having "supplied this country with two-thirds of the slaves brought into it" during the preceding fifteen years.⁵

In contrast to the diversified character of Louisiana's white population, the Natchez District was almost wholly Anglo-Saxon in origin. But within this homogeneity there was diversity, for migrants representing every social stratum poured into Mississippi from older sections of the country. Although the traditional "view that the little frontier river town was a seat of luxury from the time of its very founding" has been exploded, "there might have been some fairly high living in Natchez even in the frontier stage."⁶ About the time that Franklin began selling slaves in that market, "there set in finally a steady immigration of genuine plantation blue-bloods. These settlers were fleeing from unprofitable plantations in the Atlantic states in order to set up profitable plantations in the realm of King Cotton."⁷ A sojourner who tarried there a few

³ [Ingraham], *The South-West*, II, 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁶ Mack Swearingen (ed.), "Luxury at Natchez in 1801: A Ship's Manifest from the McDonogh Papers," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), III (1937), 188.

⁷ *Id.*, *The Early Life of George Poindexter, A Story of the First Southwest* (New Orleans, 1934), 36. Chapter II is an excellent cross section of Natchez and the Natchez District in the early years of the nineteenth century.

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years later, when Franklin's business had assumed large proportions, recited the town's progressive attainments. He learned that cotton was transported directly to the North and to Europe without reshipment at New Orleans, and that oil was manufactured from cotton seed by two steam-driven mills. The town boasted sixteen lawyers, eighteen doctors, several of whom were surgeons, five schools, an orphans' asylum, a poorhouse, a hospital, and three banks. If projected newspapers materialized, the town would soon be served by an adequate press. Of the clergymen officiating in Natchez, four were Methodists, one was an Episcopalian, and one was a Presbyterian.⁸ And, outside of New Orleans, it was the most important slave market in the Southwest.

It has already been indicated that Franklin made sundry trips down the Mississippi River to New Orleans in the early years of the nineteenth century, as the commercial agent of his elder brothers. The potential importance of Natchez must have attracted his attention as he noted the establishment of cotton plantations in adjacent counties and the consequent demand in that region for slaves. Although the traffic in negroes began in a small way before the War of 1812, Natchez did not become an important center for the trade until the years of westward expansion following the return of peace in 1815. By the eighteen thirties, more than thirty vendors plied a permanent or transient trade in that Mississippi town.

The earliest Mississippi bill of sale to which Franklin was a party is recorded in the Adams County court records, July 31, 1819, when he sold to a certain Mr. Shaw two slaves for \$1,450, Ruben, aged about twenty-eight,

⁸ [Ingraham], *The South-West*, 160-61.

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and Becky, thirty or thirty-two.⁹ In 1823 he purchased of one Eli Montgomery a house in Natchez¹⁰ and a half interest in a lot fronting the Washington Road which became the nucleus of his distributing quarters in that town.¹¹ It is quite likely that the slaves which he sold there prior to the formation of the partnership with Armfield and the establishment of purchasing quarters at Alexandria were brought down the river from Tennessee, although there is slight evidence that he bought in Virginia in this early period.¹² However, after Franklin and Armfield became associated in 1828, slaves were sent overland annually to the Natchez establishment, and in the thirties sundry parcels forwarded by water to New Orleans continued up the river to the Mississippi market. Many of the latter were consigned by Rice C. Ballard of Richmond, and as has appeared already, Armfield, Ballard, and Franklin formed a partnership in 1835 which operated as "Ballard, Franklin and Company." Armfield and Ballard had, in fact, sold slaves in Natchez in the twenties before either became associated with Franklin.¹³ The new firm's activities were confined entirely to the Natchez market and therefore did not conflict with Franklin and Armfield's Alexandria and New Orleans interests.¹⁴

⁹ Adams County Deed Record, K, 491. James B. Gordon of Tensas Parish testified in 1851 that he became acquainted with Franklin at Natchez "about thirty-one years ago." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 360.

¹⁰ Adams County Deed Record, M, 479-80.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 480-81.

¹² Information furnished by Mr. Douglas Anderson of Madison, Tennessee.

¹³ See Adams County tax receipts, MSS. in Department of Archives and History, Jackson, catalogued as G 170. "I John Armfield have sold four slaves for fifteen Hundred & twenty five dollars up to this date [December 29, 1827]." "I R. C. Ballard have sold to the amount fifty one Hundred Dollars in said county [Adams] March 8th 1828." Both of these returns were made to the tax collector for the county, Robert Bradley.

¹⁴ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 343.

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On May 19, 1835, Ballard and Franklin purchased of Anthony Smith for \$2,000¹⁵ a lot of land "Situate at and near the forks of the Road," to be used as their stockade.¹⁶ There were slavepens of four or five other traders in the same vicinity which was often alluded to as "Niggerville." To many contemporaries, however, it was known as the "Forks of the Road," and so it was named in the deed record quoted above. Ingraham visited the place sometime in 1835. As he did not date the "letters" which make up *The South-West*, and as internal evidence does not reveal exactly when he was there, it is impossible to determine definitely whether Ballard and Franklin had taken over this plot of land, though it is quite likely that they had. Ingraham dated his two-volume work at New York in September, 1835, and a writer who could later turn out at least nine novels and stories in a single year, might conceivably have written the whole work between May and September.¹⁷ "A mile from Natchez," wrote Ingraham, "we came to a cluster of rough wooden buildings, in the angle of two roads, in front of which several

¹⁵ On April 2, 1841, Ballard and Franklin (and their respective wives) sold a third interest in the parcel of land to Armfield for \$666.66. Adams County Deed Record, CC, 473-74.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, W, 142-43. The complete description of the lot follows: "Situate at and near the forks of the Road, beginning at a stake on the right hand side of the Washington Road from Natchez, being the northeast corner of Travis Grant's Lot . . . thence running with said Grant's line till it intersects the Lot on which John A. Quitmans brick dwelling is erected, thence with said Quitmans line to Madam Roulons, thence Continuing along Roulons line till it intersects the road from Natchez to Second Creek, thence along said Road towards Natchez to the corner or intersection with the road from Natchez to Washington, thence along said Natchez and Washington Road to the beginning of Travis Grants corner." *Ibid.*, CC, 473-74.

¹⁷ See sketch of Ingraham by David H. Bishop, in *Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta, 1908-1913), VI, 2591-96. Cf. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 479-80. Henry W. Longfellow wrote in 1846 that Ingraham informed him that he had "'written eighty novels, and of these twenty during the last year.'" *Ibid.*, 479.

saddle-horses, either tied or held by servants, indicated a place of popular resort."

" 'This is the slave market,' " his companion informed him. Leaving their "horses in charge of a neatly dressed yellow boy belonging to the establishment," they entered "a wide gate into a narrow court-yard, partially enclosed by low buildings," where "a scene of novel character was at once presented. A line of negroes, commencing at the entrance with the tallest . . . down to a little fellow about ten years of age, extended in a semicircle around the right side of the yard. There were in all about forty. Each was dressed in the usual uniform of slaves, when in market, consisting of a fashionably shaped, black fur hat, roundabout and trowsers of coarse corduroy velvet . . . ; good vests, strong shoes, and white cotton shirts, completed their equipment. This dress they lay aside after they are sold, or wear out as soon as may be; for the negro dislikes to retain the indication of his having recently been in the market."

As the two entered the stockade, "one of the slave merchants—for a 'lot' of slaves is usually accompanied, if not owned, by two or three individuals—approached us, saying 'Good morning, Gentlemen! Would you like to examine my lot of boys? I have as fine a lot as ever came into market.'—We approached them, one of us as a curious spectator, the other as a purchaser; . . .

" 'For what service in particular did you want to buy?' inquired the trader of my friend, 'A coachman.' 'There is one I think may suit you, sir,' said he; 'George, step out here.' Forthwith a light-coloured negro, with a fine figure and good face, bat[t]ing an enormous pair of lips, advanced a step from the line, and looked with some degree

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of intelligence, though with an air of indifference, upon his intended purchaser.

“ ‘How old are you, George?’ he inquired. ‘I don’t recollect, sir, ’zackly—b’lieve I’m somewere ’bout twenty-dree.’ ‘Where were you raised?’ ‘On master R——’s farm in Wirginny.’ ‘Then you are a Virginia negro.’ ‘Yes, master, me full blood Wirginny.’ ‘Did you drive your master’s carriage?’ ‘Yes, master, I drove old missus’ carage, more dan four year.’ ‘Have you a wife?’ ‘Yes, master, I lef’ young wife in Richmond, but I got new wife here in de lot. I wishy you buy her, master, if you guine to buy me.’ ”

After further interrogation and inspection, “the unusually loquacious slave” was purchased for \$950, a reduction of 5 per cent from the amount for which the negro was originally held. The transaction was consummated with four-months’ negotiable paper, “the customary way of paying for slaves. . . . It is, however, generally understood, that if servants prove unqualified for the particular service for which they are bought, the sale is dissolved.” Gratified at being “ ‘sol so quick,’ ” for it was a mark of inferiority to be among the last of a lot to be disposed of, George “bounded off to the buildings for his little bundle.”

Returning he addressed his new owner with sincere supplication: “ ‘Young master, you never be sorry for buy George; I make you a good servant. But—beg pardon, master—but—if master would be so good as buy Jane—’ ‘Who is Jane?’—‘My wife, since I come from Wirginny. She good wife and a good girl—she good seamstress an’ good nurse—make de nice shirts and ebery ting.’ ”

“ ‘Where is she, George?’ ‘Here she be, master,’ said he,

pointing to a bright mulatto girl, about eighteen, with a genteel figure and a lively countenance, who was waiting with anxiety the reply of the planter. Opposite to the line of males was also a line of females, extended along the left side of the court. They were about twenty in number, dressed in neat calico frocks, white aprons and capes, and fancy kerchiefs, tied in a mode peculiar to the negress, upon their heads. Their whole appearance was extremely neat and 'tidy.' They could not be disciplined to the grave silence observed by the males, but were constantly laughing and chattering with each other in suppressed voices, and appeared to take, generally, a livelier interest in the transactions in which all were equally concerned." After some questions regarding her ability as ironer, nurse, and seamstress, the planter took her also, subject to the approval of the "ladies." ¹⁸

Whether the slave merchant was Franklin or Ballard or one of their employees—if indeed the slavepen belonged to them at this time—cannot be established. Ballard spent much of his time in Natchez at this period and signed several bills of sale and mortgage records for the firm. But Ingraham undoubtedly met Franklin sometime during his sojourn in that town, for he described a trader in such explicit terms that his identity cannot be mistaken: "One of their number, who is the great southern slave-merchant, and who, for the last fifteen years, has supplied this country with two-thirds of the slaves brought into it, has amassed a fortune of more than a million of dollars by this traffic alone. He is a bachelor, and a man of gentlemanly address, as are many of these merchants, and not the ferocious, Captain Kidd looking fellows, we Yankees

¹⁸ [Ingraham], *The South-West*, II, 192-97.

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have been apt to imagine them. Their admission into society, however, is not recognised. Planters associate with them freely enough, in the way of business, but notice them no farther.”¹⁹

Mississippi in common with other slave states attempted to regulate and restrict the slave trade by legislative acts and constitutional provisions.²⁰ By an act of 1808, the legislature required a character certificate, signed by two freeholders residing in the exporting state or territory, for any slave brought into the territory by a trader.²¹ The Constitution of 1817, while it forbade the legislature to restrict immigrants from importing negroes, gave it “full power to prevent slaves from being brought into this State as merchandise.”²² Five years later the law of 1808, which required character certificates for slaves imported for sale, was re-enacted.²³ Two acts soon followed which imposed taxes upon the traffic. On February 20, 1825, an act was approved which levied a tax of 2½ per cent upon all gross sales, whether by auctioneers, established traders, or transient vendors.²⁴ The following year the tax was reduced to 1 per cent.²⁵

The new Constitution of 1832 permitted actual settlers to bring slaves for their own use into the state until 1845, but it prohibited traders from importing slaves for sale

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁰ These are analyzed in perfunctory fashion in Collins, *The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States*, 128-31; with proper explanation of reasons for and results of, in Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi*, 162-64.

²¹ Act of March 1, 1808, *Statutes of the Mississippi Territory* (Natchez, 1816), 386-88.

²² Constitution of 1817, Art. VI, “Slaves,” sec. 1.

²³ [Hutchinson’s] *Code of Mississippi, 1798-1848* (Jackson, 1848), 513.

²⁴ *Laws of the State of Mississippi, 1824-1838*, p. 82.

²⁵ Act of January 30, 1826, *ibid.*, 89.

after May 1, 1833.²⁶ Unsuccessful attempts were made immediately to modify this section of the Constitution.²⁷ The legislature did pass an act on December 23, 1833, which apparently countenanced the traffic by increasing the bond of transient traders and returning the tax to 2½ per cent.²⁸ A quadrennium later, however, penalties were imposed for importing slaves for sale in violation of the organic act of 1832, and promissory notes given in payment for slaves illegally brought in were declared void and uncollectable.²⁹ Such was the situation when Franklin, Armfield, and Ballard retired from the long-distance slave trade.

Scattering returns of sundry Natchez traders made to Robert Bradley, tax collector for Adams County, are available in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History at Jackson. On March 21, 1827, Franklin paid a tax of \$22.50, representing 1 per cent of the selling price of four slaves whom he marketed for \$700, \$600, \$500, and \$450 between November 1, 1826, and the date of payment. An entry in the tax collector's report for June 1, 1832, reads: "I [have collected from] Isaac Franklin Two Hundred dollars on account of forfeiture of Bond. In [?] the penalty of said sum dated the 14th of March 1832 to secure the tax on the Sale of Slaves." Again on January 1, 1833, he paid \$200 "on account of forfeiture of Bond dated May last," and on May 29, he paid the same amount "on account of Sales of Slaves" due May 1. Of thirty-two Natchez vendors listed in a report for a part of 1833, only two, Franklin and Samuel Wakefield, paid the maximum

²⁶ Constitution of 1832, Art. VII, "Slaves," sec. 2.

²⁷ These are reviewed in Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi*, 163-64.

²⁸ *Laws of the State of Mississippi*, 1824-1838, pp. 523-25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 758-60.

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of \$200, and Wakefield's name appeared again in the same list as paying an additional \$182.70. It is apparent that Franklin sold at least \$20,000 worth of slaves at Natchez in 1833, and it is entirely possible that sales for the whole year greatly exceeded that amount.³⁰

Many of the slaves sold in the Natchez market were conveyed on credit, the traders retaining a mortgage on the property. It was not uncommon in the halcyon days preceding the Panic of 1837 for would-be planters to purchase slaves with only a small payment, hoping that a few cotton crops would enable them to settle their notes. The panic came, and as a consequence land and slave prices depreciated. Unscrupulous buyers took advantage of the Mississippi act of 1837 which declared that notes given in payment for slaves imported in violation of the Constitution of 1832 were void and uncollectable. As late as the middle forties, several years after Franklin's firm went out of business, Armfield was still attempting to collect on back mortgages. And, as has been noted already, Franklin changed his official place of residence from Louisiana to Tennessee in 1840 to enable the firm of Ballard, Franklin, and Company to bring suits in the Federal District Court at New Orleans. Judgments were obtained within a few months, Armfield recorded, after which Franklin returned his citizenship to Louisiana.³¹

In the years following the constitutional restriction of 1832, Natchez traders frequently disposed of their slaves at Vidalia, Louisiana, the Concordia Parish seat located across the river from the Mississippi town. It was legally and constitutionally possible for Mississippi planters to

³⁰ MSS. in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, G 170.

³¹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 342. See also, *ibid.*, 338.

purchase slaves in other states; hence the resort to Vidalia by both planters and traders.³² Ballard, Franklin, and Company made numerous sales there to purchasers who specified Louisiana residence, though some of them may actually have been citizens of Mississippi. Two illustrations will serve to indicate certain features of the traffic. On October 15, 1835, Jeremiah Watson of Concordia Parish purchased twenty-four slaves of the firm for \$14,704.91, and in payment executed a promissory note for the amount with interest at 10 per cent, "payable at the [New Orleans] Counting House" of N. and J. Dick and Company. The note was secured by a mortgage upon two tracts of land in the parish, totaling 650 acres, together with the twenty-four slaves purchased.³³ Apparently Watson could not pay the note, and on March 14, 1845, a decade after the slaves were sold, Armfield, "the liquidating Partner of said Firm," sold to John F. Gillespie of Adams County, Mississippi, "all the right, title, interest and privileges in and to" the mortgage for \$20,565.21, for which Gillespie executed a promissory note.³⁴ The conveyance records also show that Moses Groves, owner of a plantation on Roundaway Bayou, was indebted to the firm to the extent of \$63,695.47, for on May 8, 1837, he executed three promissory notes totaling that amount payable at the counting house of N. and J. Dick and Company. The notes were secured by mortgages upon sundry slaves evidently purchased from the firm, and also upon

³² Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi*, 168-69.

³³ Concordia Parish Conveyance Record, G (1834-1837), 658-59; H (1837-1839), 183-84.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, J-K (1841-1846), 534. See also, *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 454-56, which quotes the firm's petition (No. 1183) to the United States Circuit Court at New Orleans. This document indicates that Watson had paid a total of \$4,823.80 in 1840 and 1841.

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eight tracts of land comprising the plantation and amounting to about 1,600 acres.³⁵

Quite frequently promissory notes accepted by Franklin bore interest at 10 per cent.³⁶ A case involving the question of usury was appealed from the Seventh Judicial District Court to the Supreme Court of Louisiana. Briefly, after several renewals, a new note was executed in 1825 for \$2,103.78, bearing interest at 10 per cent until paid. The amount represented the balance due Franklin on the sale of eight slaves. The defendants claimed "a redhibitory defect in one of the slaves," that the act of sale was undated, and that the interest rate constituted usury. The case was decided in both lower and higher courts in favor of Franklin, and the Supreme Court also ruled that "The plea of usury is not supported."³⁷

The Adams County court records contain a few bills of sale representing conveyances by Franklin and other traders at Natchez, but they are only a small number of the transactions that took place in that market. A few typical cases will be cited from transfers to which Franklin was a party. Chloe Ann, yellow, aged sixteen, was sold on June 30, 1821, for \$700, an unusual price for that period unless the slave were a skilled laborer.³⁸ Harriet, a negress, ten or eleven years old, was conveyed to Bradford Bradley on January 9, 1823, for \$300. Franklin warranted

³⁵ Concordia Parish Conveyance Record, H (1837-1839), 188-89. That Groves had Natchez connections is indicated in *Groves et al. v. Slaughter*, 15 Peters (U. S.) 449.

³⁶ For example, Abner Smalley of Concordia Parish declared on June 1, 1835, that he was indebted to Franklin to the amount of \$2,187.31, for which he executed a promissory note payable on or before December 8, 1835, bearing 10 per cent interest from maturity until paid. As security he mortgaged two slaves, Jeffry, twenty-four, and Peter, twenty-one. *Ibid.*, G (1834-1837), 271.

³⁷ 7 La. Ann. 395 (1852).

³⁸ Adams County Deed Record, M, 105.

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her "to be healthy, sensible and sound."³⁹ Nine male slaves, ranging in age from eighteen to thirty and in color from yellow to black, were sold on April 10, 1833, to the firm of Samuel A. Plummer and Company for \$6,930, payable on January 4, 1834, "by a Bill of Exchange."⁴⁰

Unlike the New Orleans material, the bills of sale and mortgage records are too few for Adams County and Concordia Parish to warrant general conclusions. In addition to aspects of the trade which have already been indicated, it would be profitable to know the range of slave prices for both sexes and for different ages, and the limits of the trade area served by Franklin's firms. A few of their bills of sale are preserved in private possession,⁴¹ but these do not add materially to the number housed in court records. The writer has searched the Natchez and other newspapers in vain for advertisements; other traders used the press for that purpose, but not Ballard, Franklin, and Armfield.

From 1835 Franklin retired gradually from active participation in the slave trade. In that year he designated a New Orleans factorage firm to look after his interests there;⁴² the formation of the firm of Ballard, Franklin, and Company at the same time relieved him of much responsibility at Natchez. A year and a half later he and Armfield sold their Alexandria stockade.⁴³ By the time of his marriage in 1839 his only interest in the traffic was

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 418.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, U, 102-03.

⁴¹ Miss Florence Ray of Memphis, Tennessee, kindly sent the writer a bill of sale representing the purchase of a slave, Elenor, sixteen, for \$450 cash, by Greenwood Leflore. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi*, 131, implies that there is more than one such bill of sale in the Greenwood Leflore MSS.

⁴² Notarial Records (New Orleans), William Boswell, No. 542, April 24, 1835.

⁴³ See George Kephart's advertisement in the *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, March 16, 1837.

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the collection of unpaid debts and the disposition of undivided property. On November 10, 1841, both firms in which Franklin held membership were mutually dissolved and Armfield was authorized to sell all property, pay obligations, and collect debts.⁴⁴ The stockade at the Forks of the Road, in which Armfield purchased a third interest in 1841,⁴⁵ was conveyed four years later to John O'Ferral for \$3,000.⁴⁶ After Franklin's death it was estimated that between 1839 and 1846, his share of the income from the firm of Ballard, Franklin, and Company amounted to \$45,000.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Adams County Deed Record, DD, 108-09; *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Daily Gazette*, November 12, 1841.

⁴⁵ Adams County Deed Record, CC, 473-74.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, FF, 268-70.

⁴⁷ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 85.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW ORLEANS MARKET

Although Louisiana resorted to Indian slavery in the French and Spanish periods, the number of native Americans enslaved was too small to be of much economic significance.¹ From an early era there were African slaves and free negroes in the province; whether they came from the West Indies or directly from Africa,² New Orleans served as the great entrepôt. Orleans Territory was organized soon after the American purchase of 1803, and the State of Louisiana entered the Union in 1812. According to the census of 1810, the territory had a total population of 76,000, consisting of about 34,000 whites, 34,500 slaves, and 7,500 free negroes. The slave population doubled in the next decade while the number of whites increased 114 per cent. Though the increase was not so rapid during the third decade of the century, the slave population grew faster than the white, and the two registered totals of 110,000 and 90,000 respectively by the end of the twenties. Meanwhile, the free negroes increased to more than 10,000 in 1820 and to a little less than 17,000 in 1830.³ New Orleans had acquired commercial impor-

¹ Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, III, 398 ff.

² See Elizabeth Donnan (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, 1930-1935), IV (*The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies*), 635-65; W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1838-1870* (New York, 1904), 72, 87-90.

³ *Statistical View of the Population of the United States from 1790 to 1830*, in *loc cit.*, 100-01.

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tance long before the American period began, by virtue of her commanding position near the mouth of the Mississippi. The "coast" parishes, from the confluence of the Red and Mississippi rivers to the Gulf, contained most of the people when the state was admitted.

By far the greater number of slaves sold at the Natchez establishment supplied cotton plantations in the adjacent regions of Mississippi and Louisiana. The New Orleans market found profit in the need of the city itself for servants and in the demand of sugar planters in that triangular region known as the "sugar bowl." ⁴ The pioneering work of the Creole, Etienne de Boré, in the last decade of the eighteenth century gave the area a staple crop, and the experimental efforts of Valcour Aime, at the very time that Franklin established his slave market at New Orleans, introduced refineries into the state. The number of sugar plantations increased from 308 in 1827 to 691 in 1830, and the number of working slaves from 21,000 to 36,000 in the same period.⁵ An expanding plantation area with a profitable staple crop increased the demand for slaves; Isaac Franklin's business acumen enabled him to foresee opportunity, and he entered competition in the New Orleans market at a most propitious time.

The earliest of Franklin's bills of sale in the New Orleans notarial acts were recorded in the fall of 1828. Where he maintained his stockade for the first year has not been determined, but in 1829 he leased a house of Justin A. Armitage "situated in Faubourg Marigny together with three vacant lots adjoining the same." The lease expired in two years and on April 15, 1831, Franklin rented the same place for another biennium at \$1,300 a year.

⁴ Eventually the Red River Valley, as far as Rapides Parish, produced sugar.

⁵ Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 166.

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"It is understood," the lease of 1831 stated, "that the said lessor Justin A Armitage lets the above mentioned house for the above mentioned space of time as a dwelling house and not for the business which the said Isaac Franklin now carries on that is to say that of selling negroes, although it is not the intention of the said Justin A Armitage to deprive the said lessee of the privilege to Keep His slaves in the said house and therein to carry on his aforesaid business." However, if the City Council should deprive Franklin of the privilege of carrying on the trade, he would still be obligated to Armitage for the terms of the lease.⁶

On December 1, 1833, through his authorized agent, Samuel Martin Woolfolk of New Orleans, Franklin leased a house and lot at the corner of Esplanade and Casa Calvo, known as the Canonge property. The lease was to run for one year and the rent was \$100 per month.⁷

Before discussing the details of the New Orleans traffic, it will be expedient to consider some of the legislation which affected the introduction and sale of slaves in Louisiana. Congressional acts in the opening years of the American period permitted actual settlers to introduce slaves from other parts of the United States provided they

⁶ Notarial Records, Adolphe Mazureau, No. 152, April 22, 1831. For the location of Faubourg Marigny, see Notarial Record Office Plan Book No. 53, fol. 7. According to this source, the stockade was located on or near the river, a mile and a half below New Orleans.

⁷ Notarial Records, William Boswell, No. 1304, December 6, 1833.

The City Council passed an ordinance on November 29, 1834, forbidding traders "to expose their negroes for sale within the incorporated limits of the City." *A Digest of the Ordinances, Resolutions, By-Laws, and Regulations of the Corporation of New-Orleans* (New Orleans, 1836), 139, 141. An ordinance approved January 27, 1835, permitted vendors to maintain brick establishments two stories or more in height in any suburb above Gaienné Street, provided keepers complied with health ordinances. *Ibid.*, 95. On April 10, 1835, the Council legalized the selling of slaves below Esplanade Street. *Ibid.*, 141.

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had been imported before May 1, 1798, but ambiguity permitted judicial interpretation to countenance the foreign slave trade for a time. As a result the slave population was augmented from abroad as well as from the Atlantic Coast.⁸ The territorial legislature passed acts in 1810 designed to enforce the federal law of 1807 and to prevent the introduction of slaves with criminal records.⁹ No notice of the traffic was taken by the Constitution of 1812, and it was not until fourteen years later that the state legislature took cognizance of it. An act of March 22, 1826, forbade importation of slaves for sale or for hire after June 1, and specified penalties of fine and imprisonment and forfeiture of all slaves illegally brought in. Both immigrants and residents might bring in slaves for their own use provided such property was not exchanged or sold within a biennium.¹⁰ This act was repealed outright two years later,¹¹ but on January 31, 1829, a regulatory law was enacted. It obligated traders introducing negroes for sale or for hire after April 1, to bring with each one over twelve a certificate, signed at least by two freeholders of the county in which the slaves were acquired, "designating the name, age, sex, and as near as possible, the size, marks, and color of said slave, and the place where he, or she was purchased, and from whom purchased." Furthermore, the freeholders were to declare "on oath, that they have known the said slave for several years, and that he or she has not, within their knowledge been guilty, nor convicted of any crimes, but . . . has a good moral character, and is not in the habit of running away." Vendors'

⁸ Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 89-90.

⁹ *Territory of Orleans Acts*, 1810, pp. 18, 20, 22, 44, 46, 48.

¹⁰ *Louisiana Acts*, 1826, pp. 114, 116, 118.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1828, p. 22.

certificates, however, should "never be used as evidence." Citizens of Louisiana importing slaves for their own use, and immigrants bringing slaves with them, were also to present certificates. The act forbade the introduction of slaves accused of insurrection or conspiracy, and no negroes residing in an insurrectionary county could be imported until two years after the conspiracy had been allayed. Finally, the law prohibited the introduction of slave children ten or under unless accompanied by their mothers "if living"; and it also forbade the separate sale of mothers and their children of ten or less.¹² All of the sections of this act except those prohibiting the importation of slaves from insurrection infested regions and the selling of mothers and small children separately, were repealed two years later.¹³

The Nat Turner Insurrection in August, 1831, caused heated discussion in Louisiana of the evils of the traffic and led to the calling of a special session of the legislature which passed a drastic antislave trade law. Partly because it was believed that news of the massacre might incite New Orleans negroes to similar exploits, the press of that city was reluctant to publicize the incident. The *Bee* broke its silence on September 15, the *Advertiser* a week later. Exchanges from the Charleston *Mercury* indicated that the Walker pamphlet had again appeared in the Southeast,¹⁴ and as that incendiary document had been discovered in Louisiana the year before,¹⁵ excitement was further stimulated. While the legislature was in session, a New Orleans

¹² *Ibid.*, 1828-1829, pp. 38-50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1831, p. 78.

¹⁴ New Orleans *Louisiana Advertiser*, October 5, 1831.

¹⁵ Clement Eaton, "A Dangerous Pamphlet in the Old South," in *Journal of Southern History*, II (1936), 331.

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paper stated that more than a thousand slaves had been introduced into the city during the previous month.¹⁶ And shortly after its adjournment, another press, in commenting upon recent burglaries committed by both whites and blacks, suggested a system of patrol for the suburbs and roll call by owners and employers of large groups of negroes.¹⁷

With popular excitement at fever heat, the traffic in slaves was examined anew. Those "engaged in this business," said the *Baton Rouge Gazette*, "publicly announced their willingness to purchase, without the certificates required by law, and yet when needed, certificates of the necessary kind are forthcoming!"¹⁸ On October 19 the New Orleans City Council passed an ordinance which obligated every individual who introduced slaves into that port to present the mayor within twenty-four hours a sworn statement describing each slave and designating the place of purchase, and levied a fine of \$100 for each slave imported in violation of the regulation.¹⁹ Governor A. B. Roman, in his message to the legislature on November 14, directed attention to slave insurrections in several states and particularly to the recent Southampton massacre. Although no insubordination had reached Louisiana, he lamented the rapid increase in importations: "We have already received but too many that may be considered as the very scum of that population." He pointed out that the provisions of the act of 1829, which prohibited the introduction of slaves engaged in conspiracy,

¹⁶ *New Orleans Bee*, November 18, 1831.

¹⁷ *New Orleans Louisiana Advertiser*, November 28, 1831.

¹⁸ *Baton Rouge Gazette*, October 15, 1831.

¹⁹ *New Orleans Bee*, October 20, 1831; *Baton Rouge Gazette*, October 29, 1831.

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had not been repealed; "but from the facility with which those who engage in this kind of trade find, in deceiving, as to the place from whence negroes have been brought, these dispositions are evidently insufficient." Virginia had decreed deportation from the United States, but in all probability the insurrectionists would be brought to other Southern states. He therefore recommended "total prohibition" for a time, although he thought that residents and immigrants should be permitted to bring in slaves for their own use.²⁰

Acting upon the Governor's suggestions,²¹ the extra session passed an act prohibiting the introduction of slaves for sale or for hire, although citizens and immigrants were allowed to import negroes except from the states of Alabama and Mississippi and the territories of Arkansas and

²⁰ Louisiana *House Journal*, 1831 (extra session), 2-5. See also, New Orleans *Louisiana Advertiser*, November 15, 1831; *Baton Rouge Gazette*, November 26, 1831.

²¹ For several years Louisiana governors had been urging the legislature to take action. In his message of November 18, 1828, Henry Johnson said: "A serious evil has arisen from the great number of vicious slaves sold in this state, which calls loudly for the effectual interposition of the Legislature." Louisiana *Senate Journal*, 1828-1829, p. 6. On January 6, 1830, A. Beauvois suggested complete prohibition. *Ibid.*, 1830, p. 5. A year later Jacques Dupre called attention to Louisiana's unfavorable balance of trade. Exportations, he said, amounted to five or six million dollars; importations to seven or eight million dollars. He enumerated items purchased from the different sections of the country; "from the slave holding states we purchase, annually, to the amount of two millions five hundred thousand dollars, principally from the states of Maryland and Virginia." Should the tariff on sugar be repealed, Louisiana must "turn from planting to farming" to become self-sufficient. It would be impractical to invest more capital "in the cultivation and manufacture of an article [sugar] which is liable to so fatal a vicissitude." He therefore recommended total exclusion. The disparity between blacks and whites was "too great to be viewed with indifference or inattention. . . . The annual supply is gradually pouring in, and scarce a ship arrives from the slave holding states, that does not come freighted with a living cargo of vice and crime, to be disgorged upon our shores and incorporated into our domestic establishments." Louisiana *House Journal*, 1831, pp. 10-11.

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Florida.²² The act obligated both immigrants and residents to file in the parish judge's office, within twenty days after slaves arrived in the state and five after they entered the parish, a sworn statement recording the names, ages, sexes, colors, etc., and declaring that such slaves were imported for their own use and would not be sold, loaned, hired, or mortgaged within a period of five years. A fine of \$500 to \$1,000 was imposed for each slave illegally imported, and all slaves brought into Louisiana in violation of the act were to be freed and sent out of the state. Traders were given one month to sell or remove their present supply from the state, and all slaves then on their way to Louisiana who would arrive "within twelve days after the promulgation of this act, from sea, and within six days by land or the river," must be removed from the state within five days. A fine of from ten to twenty dollars was imposed for every slave remaining in a dealer's possession at the end of the thirty days and for each day thereafter, and a fine of \$500 to \$1,000 was levied for each slave which arrived within the six- or twelve-day limits, and still within the state at the end of five days.²³

An amendatory act was approved at the next regular

²² Alcée LaBranche of St. Charles Parish moved to include Virginia in the list of proscribed states and territories, but his amendment was defeated. *Ibid.*, 1831 (extra session), 9.

A key to the proscribing section of the act is available in Governor Johnson's message to the next session of the legislature. Other states of the South and West, he said, had passed prohibitive measures. Had Louisiana not done so, she would "have been inundated by an infinite number of slaves," and planters would have contracted embarrassing financial obligations. Because of the apparent ease with which residents could procure slaves in nearby states and territories, he recommended that "The section which permits citizens of the state to introduce negroes for their own use, ought also to be amended, with a view to prevent those, who may attempt to pursue in [the] future that commerce which you have designed to prohibit, from acting as agents, by procurations obtained from our citizens." *Louisiana Senate Journal*, 1832, p. 4.

²³ *Louisiana Acts*, 1831 (extra session), 4, 6, 8, 10.

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session, April 2, 1832, which banned the importation of slaves from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri,²⁴ but this new prohibition was repealed a year later.²⁵ Finally, an act approved January 2, 1834, repealed all previous laws still in force, and provided that slaves introduced into the state while they were in effect could be sold, hired, or mortgaged.²⁶

Much of the foregoing legislation vitally affected Franklin's New Orleans business. Whether he and Armfield were lax in procuring bona fide certificates cannot be determined, though descriptive and character certifications are attached to their bills of sale in the notarial acts in accordance with the law of 1829. On November 19, 1831, the same day that the special session prohibited the introduction of slaves by professional dealers and accorded them one month to dispose of their stock, Franklin conveyed to his brother James his entire lot of slaves at the New Orleans center,²⁷ all of whom were sold by December 20. From then until shortly after the passage of the act of January 2, 1834, there are no bills of sale executed by either brother in the New Orleans notarial records.²⁸ In the interim, the Natchez market was emphasized, and many coastwise shipments, especially in 1833, were destined for that town.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1832, pp. 140, 142, 144. An amendment to include Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia was defeated by a vote of fourteen to nineteen. *Louisiana House Journal*, 1832, pp. 59-60.

²⁵ *Louisiana Acts*, 1833, pp. 81-82.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1833-1834, pp. 6-7.

²⁷ Notarial Records, William Boswell, pp. 725-949, November 23-December 20, 1831, *passim*.

²⁸ There is one exception to this statement. On February 17, 1832, Franklin conveyed Charles, twenty-three, to Isaac Boissière for \$500 cash. In reality, the bill states, the slave had been sold to Bossière the year before, had been in his possession since then, but no bill of sale had previously been executed. *Ibid.*, Louis T. Caire, No. 156, February 17, 1832.

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Of the female slaves sold by Franklin at New Orleans, few were under eleven or over twenty-five, with the ages sixteen to twenty most numerous. Most of the males were from eleven to twenty-six, although the specific ages thirty and thirty-five were also well represented. Concentration, however, centered about the years eighteen to twenty-five. In accordance with the law of 1829, children ten or under were sold with their mothers, and a single price was set down for both mother and children. No women less than seventeen had children, and none had more than three, though several had that number. As a rule children of eleven years or older were sold separately. An unusual case involved the slave Margarett who was sold with her three children, Sarenah, aged sixteen, Frederick, nine, and Sam, six.²⁹

Out of more than a thousand cases tabulated from the period 1828-1835 (all but a few of them for the years 1828-1832), there were only twenty slaves ten or less who were sold separately and nine of them were exactly ten. In such cases the notarial acts usually stated specifically that such slaves were orphans, "having neither father nor mother," and a few of eleven years were also cited as orphans. Even before the regulatory law of 1829 was passed bills of sale frequently so designated young children. Three notarial acts recorded in November, 1828, will serve as illustrations. Franklin sold to Nathan Goodale of New Orleans ten slaves including Henry Bruce, aged ten, for \$400, and his brother Stephen Bruce, seven, for \$250; "the last two slaves are orphans, having neither father nor mother."³⁰ The negress Sally, aged six, was sold to Miss Rosalie Brossé Touton Beauregard for

²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 376, April 20, 1831.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, No. 1060, November 14, 1828.

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\$200,³¹ and John, eight, to Felix Lefebore for \$250,³² both of whom were designated as orphans without either parent. But as the law regulating the sale of children ten or under did not involve the paternal parent, the allusion to fathers in later cases cannot be taken too seriously; nor can one be absolutely sure that the mothers were actually deceased. Prejudice against selling small children separately would naturally lead traders to allude to them as orphans even though the maternal parent were still living.

Illustrative of that provision of the act of 1829 which required a certificate and declaration signed by at least two freeholders of the county from which the slaves were imported, Franklin and his nephew, James Franklin Purvis, on May 15, 1829, sold to Michael Andry of Orleans Parish, the slave Eliza, fourteen, for \$350. She had been purchased of David Ricketts of Fairfax County, Virginia, on the preceding March 23, and imported on board the schooner *James Monroe* from Norfolk. To the bill of sale was attached a certificate, signed by Thomas Wilson and William White of Fairfax County, who declared on oath that they had known the slave for several years, "and that she has not, within their knowledge, been guilty or convicted of any crimes, but that she has a good moral character and is not in the habit of running away." ³³ And on December 29, 1829, Franklin sold three slaves to Losthene Allain of Pointe Coupee Parish: "All of the said three Slaves are hereby Warranted to be free from the vices and maladies provided against by law And also free from All debts liens mortgages and incumbrances." ³⁴

Sundry slaves sold by Franklin at New Orleans pos-

³¹ *Ibid.*, No. 1164, November 18, 1828.

³² *Ibid.*, No. 1184, November 26, 1828.

³³ *Ibid.*, No. 524, May 15, 1829.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Hugues Pedesclaux, 1831, No. 3, December 29, 1829.

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sessed physical defects which were ordinarily freely admitted in the bills of sale. Such defects, of course, usually affected the market value. The negress Kitty Neal, seventeen, sold to Madelaine Dupuy of New Orleans on March 31, 1829, had "a cutaneous on the neck and back otherwise warranted free from the vices and maladies prescribed by law."³⁵ The bill by which Caroline, brown, twenty-one, was transferred to Zacharia Tucker Kirkland of Catahoula Parish on April 2, 1830, for \$350, specified that "the slave Caroline has a defect in the left ankle," for which the purchaser had no recourse against the vendor. The defect in this case materially affected the price for by the same bill, Matilda, eighteen, sold for \$500.³⁶ Of seven slaves sold a few weeks later to Manuel del Valle and Manuel Ramos de Calonge of New Orleans, "Charles is taken by the purchaser[s] subject to a rupture, and . . . he is sold at reduced price in consequence of said defect." His price, \$400, was a third less than that brought by the others in his class.³⁷ The slave Allick, twenty-two, sold to Jonathan Bell *et al.* of New Orleans on November 25, 1830, for \$550, "has lost his right thumb, of which the purchasers declare that the said seller has duly notified them, and they take him without recourse therefor, he being now sold to them at reduced price [of \$100] in consequence thereof."³⁸ A slight defect in Peter, twenty-five, who was sold to William Dark of Rapides Parish for \$640 did not seem to affect his price. He was fully warranted: "the said slave has a lump on one of his ears, against which or any consequence that may arise therefrom, the present seller hereby specially war-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Carlile Pollock, No. 232, March 31, 1829.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, No. 315, April 2, 1830.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Carlile Pollock, No. 309, May 25, 1830.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, p. 637, November 25, 1830.

rants and binds himself to the present purchaser his heirs and assigns, to indemnify them, or theirs against the effects of said lump, or any consequences that may arise therefrom." ³⁹ Apparently the loss of an eye did not affect the price of Emily Daniels, sixteen, sold to Silas F. Hudson of Iberville Parish and Edmund Kimball of New Orleans for \$601.51, for she brought the same as three other females who were slightly older.⁴⁰

Slaves whose health was impaired, temporarily or permanently, were not warranted and usually sold for less than the market value. Of ten slaves sold to Daniel Robert of Rapides Parish on March 10, 1829, William Tate, "who being in bad health is not warranted against any malady infirmity or bodily defect," brought only about half as much as the others.⁴¹ The following year Franklin sold to Abner Robinson of Richmond, Virginia, three slaves who shared the name John, whose ages were twenty-two, twenty-four, and thirty-two, and who brought respectively, \$400, \$100, and \$300. The three were "free from all incumbrance: but not warranted against any vice, malady or defect whatsoever, they being now sick and afflicted, and the purchaser hereby declared that he takes them as they are without any recourse . . . except for validity of title." ⁴² Lundy Lane, a griffonne,⁴³ aged twenty, was sold on March 31, 1829, along with her four-months-old infant, to Madelaine Dupuy of New Orleans; "the mother being sick is warranted against vices only." ⁴⁴

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 478, May 14, 1831.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 408, April 1, 1834.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Carlile Pollock, No. 182, March 10, 1829.

⁴² *Ibid.*, William Boswell, p. 480, May 29, 1830.

⁴³ The terms *griffe* (masculine) and *griffonne* (feminine), with some variation in spelling, were frequently used in Louisiana to allude to a mulatto; more specifically to the offspring of a negro and a mulatto woman.

⁴⁴ Notarial Records, Carlile Pollock, No. 232, March 31, 1829.

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On the other hand, Letty White, twenty-five, sold to William Meridith Helm of Rapides Parish for \$400, "has an infant at the breast and [it] is now sick and given in without any value received."⁴⁵ And Henry, who was sold with his mother Nancy to the Society for the Relief of Destitute Orphan Boys in New Orleans, was ill and consequently not warranted.⁴⁶

Absconding was a habit which if known reduced the price of a slave. Among three negroes sold to William Dark of Rapides Parish on May 13, 1831, was Nancy Dines, age not recorded. She was "not warranted against any vice whatsoever, she being subject to running away, therefore health and title only guaranteed."⁴⁷ On February 21, 1834, Peter Petrovie of Natchitoches purchased twelve slaves ranging in age from eleven to twenty-one, all of whom were warranted free from vices save running away.⁴⁸ A few weeks later, Franklin sold to Hudson and Kimball ten slaves, males and females, aged fourteen to twenty-five, all "warranted against Vices and maladies prescribed by law, save and except the vice of running away for sixty days from the date hereof."⁴⁹

Some buyers were interested in remnants and bargains and were quite willing to invest in slaves with physical defects at reduced prices even though some risk were involved. As an example, William Harvey Ker of New Orleans purchased four slaves for \$450 cash on May 20, 1829: Walbert Lancaster, fourteen, for \$100; Mary, eleven, for \$100; Elvira, eleven, for \$100; and Mary Ann, eleven, for \$150. All four were taken without recourse against the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, No. 159, May 7, 1829.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, William Christy, p. 158, April 14, 1830.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, p. 477, May 13, 1831.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 229, February 21, 1834.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 408, April 1, 1834.

seller except as to validity of title.⁵⁰ A week later he was back to purchase Judy, a negress of twenty years, for \$200 cash.⁵¹

A frequent buyer at the Franklin stockade was William Dark of Rapides Parish. On March 10, 1829, he purchased four slaves: Betsy Jackson, twenty, for \$450; Abraham Borner, sixteen, for \$550; Henry, fifteen, for \$550; and Stephen Little, seventeen, for \$550.⁵² Abraham and perhaps others developed a "vice or malady," and a year later Dark returned to seek redress. As compensation, Franklin sold him Oscar, nineteen, valued at \$650, for \$400; "said Dark shall for the balance of this sale say 250 dollars as he hereby does renounce all recourse . . . whether in Law or otherwise against said Franklin and his heirs, and release him and them from all claims and demands whatsoever by reason of any Vice, or defect of body or character, either in the slave herein conveyed to him, or in any other slave or slaves heretofore sold him (and particularly in the slave Abraham) by said Franklin, up to, and including the day of the date hereof." ⁵³ Apparently the adjustment was satisfactory, for the following year Dark returned and bought three more slaves, one of whom was admittedly a runaway and not warranted.⁵⁴

Another Rapides planter who effected a satisfactory exchange was Pleasant Henderson Hunter. He purchased twenty-one slaves on May 7, 1829, for \$8,485. These included Milly's infant son James who was "given in without any value received therefor," Cupid Campbell and John Lee who were ruptured, and Gabriel and Nancy

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 536, May 20, 1829.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, No. 569, May 26, 1829.

⁵² *Ibid.*, No. 256, March 10, 1829.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, No. 189, March 2, 1830.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 477, May 13, 1831.

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Jackson who were sick. Hunter took the four defective adult slaves without recourse except as to validity of title, and with only a slight reduction in price.⁵⁵ Other slaves purchased by Hunter possessed or developed weaknesses for on February 19, 1830, he was back in New Orleans to secure indemnity. Some of those bought a year before, he alleged, "proved to be defective in body and character by reason of Vices & maladies which . . . existed at, and previous to the period of said purchase." A compromise was arranged: Franklin agreed to take back Caroline Scott, valued at \$450 at the time of purchase, and to convey as an indemnity Lucy, thirteen, and Clarissa, sixteen, together valued at \$725, but with no other guarantee than that of title, "making an overplus of value refunded by said Franklin of" \$375, "which shall remain as a payment to the said Hunter in full indemnity for all defects of body or character in all and every."⁵⁶

The notarial records, in fact, are replete with adjustments made when slaves were returned. As has been indicated above, most of them were effected by exchanges. It was to Franklin's advantage to see that his customers were satisfied, and as a result there were few cases of litigation growing out of his transactions. Every adjustment or exchange which he made served to increase the confidence of the slave-buying public in his honesty and integrity.

It has not been possible to locate all of Franklin's bills of sale in the notarial acts. In fact, it is doubtful if the New Orleans notarial record office has in its files all of the acts passed before notaries of the period. Further, because the collection is so bulky and ill-arranged, the researcher cannot be sure that he has located every bill actually preserved. Especially the number of slaves

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 161, May 7, 1829.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 98, February 19, 1830.

younger and older than prime field hands appearing in extant records is too few to warrant many general deductions. There are sufficient cases for prime field hands for the four selling seasons from 1828 to 1832, however, to justify some modification of price curves. Professor Phillips included in his *American Negro Slavery* a chart of slave prices in four markets—Virginia, Charleston, Middle Georgia, and New Orleans—compared with the price of upland cotton at New York. Prime male field hands in the New Orleans market, the chart shows, ranged from about \$765 in 1828 to \$1,000 in 1832.⁵⁷ In his *Life and Labor in the Old South*, the chart is modified so that the New Orleans price curve reaches \$900 at the end of the quadrennium.⁵⁸ These prices are evidently too high. If the firm of Franklin and Armfield may be taken as indicative, prime male field hands from eighteen to twenty-five brought about \$650 at the beginning of the period and \$700 at the end, with a decline to \$600 in the second year. No negroes except skilled slaves brought as much as \$900, and some of them sold for less than that amount. There is no reason to believe that Franklin and Armfield were greatly underselling other traders in the New Orleans market. The records of that firm further disclose that prime female hands ranged from about \$550 to \$600 in the period 1828–1832, with a similar decline of \$50 during the selling season of 1829–1830. Contrary to Professor Phillips' statement that "the prices of women . . . are too seldom segregated from those of their children to permit anything to be established beyond a ratio to some ascertained standard,"⁵⁹ there are undoubtedly sufficient

⁵⁷ Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, opposite p. 370.

⁵⁸ *Id.*, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 177.

⁵⁹ *Id.*, *American Negro Slavery*, 369.

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data available to determine the general price ranges for them as well as for males.

The following incomplete list of skilled laborers sold by Franklin at New Orleans includes few who brought traditional prices.⁶⁰ The table records, besides names and special skills (where available), the color (actual or implied), age, price, and year of sale.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Skill</i>	<i>Date</i>
Tom Clark	negro	22	\$1200		1829
Westley	negro	30	800	blacksmith	1829
Jacob	negro	28	925		1830
Perry	negro	34	800		1830
Ambrose		30	800	tanner	1830
Charles	copper	37	800	rough carpenter	1830
Susan	negress	22	800		1830
Phillis	yellow	18	770		1830
Tom	negro	30	1050	carpenter	1830
William	negro	35	800	blacksmith	1830
Thornton	negro	25	900	carpenter	1830
Lucretia	mulattress	20	760		1831
Anthony	negro	25	750		1831
Dennis	negro	35	770	cooper, carpenter, & wheelwright	1831
York	negro	32	800	blacksmith	1831
James	negro	30	800	ordinary black- smith	1831
Fanny	mulattress	21	760		1831
Cyrus	griffe	20	800		1831
Lloyd	negro	18	880		1831
Ned Brown &		28			
Belinda Brown [his wife]		21	1500	rough carpenter	1834
Nace	mulatto	24	1000		1835
Sam	griffe	28	1182½		1835

⁶⁰ A few slaves who sold for \$150 to \$200 more than the dominant price have been listed even though no skill was indicated in the bills of sale. Several others who brought substantially more than the dominant price should probably have been included.

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For a period when a vast amount of business was done on credit, and especially when speculation in land was the order of the day, an unusually large number of buyers in the New Orleans market paid cash for their slaves. Of the cases under review, eleven-sixteenths of the purchasers bought with cash. The others either paid a part in cash and gave promissory notes for the balance, or in some cases gave notes for the entire amount.

Orleans Parish, and more particularly the city of New Orleans itself, acquired nearly three-eighths of the slaves which Franklin sold in that market. Most of these were, of course, employed as house servants or used in mercantile establishments. Other than Orleans, the sugar parishes, Jefferson, St. John the Baptist, St. Charles, St. Mary, St. James, Ascension, St. Bernard, Iberville, and Terrebonne rank in the order named, with parishes on the fringe of the sugar bowl purchasing a few. Three parishes in North Louisiana were also heavy purchasers. Rapides, Natchitoches, and Ouachita, each with a growing parish seat, Alexandria, Natchitoches, and Monroe, respectively. Buyers from Adams and a few other counties in southwestern Mississippi purchased a few slaves of the New Orleans establishment. Because of Franklin's Tennessee connections, sundry slaves were sold to planters in that state and, curiously enough, a few were sold to Virginians and Georgians but they were probably resold in Louisiana.

How many slaves did purchasers wish to buy? More than half (56 per cent) who resorted to Franklin's New Orleans stockade desired only one, and about one-sixth bought two. Approximately one-eighth purchased three or four, and a tenth invested in from five to ten. Only one-twenty-fifth bought from eleven to twenty, and one-fiftieth desired from twenty-one to twenty-nine. Few purchasers

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bought more than a dozen at one time. Many of the slaves sold singly or in pairs were purchased by householders and merchants in New Orleans, and farmers and planters ambitious to become more productive invested in moderate parcels. Those who bought lots of considerable size were sugar growers of adjacent parishes and cotton planters of North Louisiana whose expanding acres demanded more hands than the natural increase supplied. On one occasion the Louisiana Board of Public Works, represented by its president, Governor A. B. Roman, bought a lot of nineteen prime hands ranging in age from twenty to twenty-six and valued at \$700 each.⁶¹

Among the buyers who resorted to Franklin and Armfield's New Orleans establishment were sundry free negroes. The free status of many of their ancestors dated from the period of Spanish control. The *Partidas* prevented the Spanish governors from marrying, and a paucity of white women led to concubinage with free negroes. The example of the governing class "soon spread throughout the colony, and was persevered in long after there ceased to be any excuse for its continuance."⁶² In the American period free negroes were more numerous in Louisiana than in any other state of the Lower South. Their number increased from 7,585 in 1810 to 18,647 at the close of the ante-bellum period. According to the census report of 1830, at the height of the power and influence of Franklin and Armfield as traders, there were 16,710 in the state.⁶³ Free negroes were most numerous in Orleans, St. Landry, St. Martin, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Plaquemines

⁶¹ Notarial Records, Felix Grima, No. 132, May 6, 1834.

⁶² Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, III, 392.

⁶³ *Statistical View of the Population of the United States from 1790 to 1830*, in *loc cit.*, 100-01.

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parishes, with most of those in the first-named parish concentrated in the city of New Orleans. As a class they possessed privileges far beyond those of slaves, they acquired special rights in court where their testimony was frequently admitted against white defendants, and they possessed a degree of economic influence. Many of them owned land and slaves and a few became planters on a large scale. Their property could be deeded, willed, or mortgaged, and they were fully protected in the possession of wealth and in legal transactions.⁶⁴

Many of the free negro owners of slaves were farmers or planters, but with few exceptions those to whom Franklin sold servants lived in New Orleans or its environs. The following table lists those for whom bills of sale are recorded in the notarial acts:

<i>Name of slave</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Date</i>
Colbert	negro	23	\$650	Augustine Iolibois	1828
Betsy (orphan)	negress	11	225	Similien Brulée	1829
Jane	negress	16	375	Annie Datie	1830
Charlotte	negress	34	450	Julien Pierre	1830
Lucy	negress	18	450	Ulsula Charlot	1830
Betsy	copper	18	500	Adele Ferdinand	1830
Maria	yellow	20	700	Adelaide Morin	1830
Sarah	negress	16	470	Marie Joseph	
				Eulalie	1831
Jane	negress	30	378	Lina Bartholomé	1831
Betsy	negress	25	920	Marie Rouelle	1831
Clem	negro	9			
Ellen	negress	5			
Susan	negress	4			
Rachelle	negress	18	450	Cloë Barbet	1831
Emily	negress	20	450	Elizabeth Espédés	1831

⁶⁴ Annic Lee West Stahl, "The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana" (M. A. thesis, 1934, Louisiana State University Library). See also, Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, III, 393.

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The French influence, and perhaps French blood, is indicated by the names of the free negroes to whom Franklin sold slaves in New Orleans. Adele Ferdinand and Adelaide Morin were designated as "Mdme." and "Mademoiselle."⁶⁵ A note given by Marie Rouelle in part payment for Betsy and her three children was endorsed by a free negro, Francois Petit Jean.⁶⁶ With few exceptions free negroes paid for their slaves with cash, and the number giving notes in part or full payment did not exceed the proportion of whites who thus paid for their servants. All but two of the free negroes listed above lived in New Orleans; the exceptions resided in Jefferson and Plaquemines parishes.

James Rawlings Franklin, elder brother of Isaac, was also engaged in the slave trade, and the two were associated from time to time in the traffic. Some bills of sale to which James was a party were also signed by Isaac. It has already been indicated that James purchased the entire stock of slaves at the Franklin slavepen in New Orleans in the fall of 1831 and that he sold them there during the ensuing month. On the other hand, James Franklin helped to supply Isaac's stockade with negroes. On December 5, 1829, Isaac purchased of his brother thirty-four slaves for \$18,375 cash. All of these James had bought in Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. Twenty-one of them were males ranging in age from sixteen to thirty and in price from \$575 to \$700; with three exceptions they were valued at \$600 apiece. The dozen slave girls and women ranged from fourteen to twenty-five and were valued at \$400 to \$550, with \$450 as the domi-

⁶⁵ Notarial Records, William Boswell, pp. 596, 715, November 4, December 22, 1830.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Louis T. Caire, No. 493, May 11, 1831.

nant price. Only Milly was listed with a child, a year-old daughter.⁶⁷ A year later, James sold Isaac a parcel of nineteen for \$10,750 cash.⁶⁸

As has already appeared, several traders indirectly associated with Franklin and Armfield consigned shipments to the senior member of the firm at New Orleans and Natchez. The notarial records list two transactions with George Davis of Alexandria. On December 10, 1829, he sold Franklin fifty-six grown slaves and six children for \$28,775 cash. All of them had been purchased in Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia and had arrived in New Orleans two days previously on board the brig *Comet*. A dozen boys from twelve to nineteen were valued at \$400 to \$550, and seventeen between nineteen and thirty brought \$600 each. Westley, thirty, a skilled slave, was estimated at \$700. Twenty-one females thirteen to twenty-eight ranged from \$350 to \$500 with \$450 as the dominant price. Rachee Boston, yellow, twenty-six, cost \$600 and Sethy, eleven, \$200. Four women, each with a minor child, brought \$450, \$450, \$475, and \$500 respectively.⁶⁹ Two months later Davis sold Franklin another parcel of fifty-two for \$26,800 cash. Thirty-six males, ranging from thirteen to thirty (only three under seventeen), were listed at \$550 apiece. Fourteen women and girls, fourteen to twenty-eight, brought \$450 each, and two boys, eleven, sold for \$350 apiece.⁷⁰

A lot of thirty-nine, purchased on January 26, 1830, of William Swann of Prince Georges County, Maryland, included twenty-two males, seventeen to thirty-seven, valued at \$550 each; two boys, eleven and twelve, at \$400 each;

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, No. 332, December 5, 1829.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Carlile Pollock, No. 134, November 18, 1830.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, No. 343, December 10, 1829.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 91, February 11, 1830.

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and fifteen females, thirteen to thirty-five (all but the two extremes fifteen to twenty-six), at \$450 apiece.⁷¹ Other bills of sale record the purchase of seventy-five slaves on November 15, 1830, from John Brown Johnston of Maryland for \$35,000 cash;⁷² eighty-three on December 13, 1830, from Frederick James Dudley of Virginia for \$43,350 cash;⁷³ ninety-five on February 3, 1831, from Thomas Archer Finley of Alexandria, D. C., for \$47,225 cash;⁷⁴ and forty-four on March 7, 1831, from Nathaniel Harrison Fitzhugh of Virginia for \$21,600 cash.⁷⁵ Franklin also purchased a few slaves, singly or in small groups, from residents of New Orleans. Slaveholders in that vicinity usually resorted to public auction, however, for the disposal of their surplus.

In the absence of records from the Alexandria office, it has been impossible to determine the margin of profit accruing to the firm of Franklin and Armfield.⁷⁶ Even the bills of sale by which Franklin purchased large parcels of slaves in New Orleans for resale there do not greatly assist in arriving at an accurate margin for the local traffic. With few exceptions, slaves of either sex, whether children or adults, were purchased at a flat rate regardless of actual value. As an example, Staney, aged twenty-three, and Jacob, thirteen, were bought on February 11, 1830, for

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, No. 58, January 26, 1830.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Carlile Pollock, No. 133, November 15, 1830.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, No. 148, December 13, 1830.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 190, February 3, 1831.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 250, March 7, 1831.

⁷⁶ Phillips suggests that the difference in prices between the Virginia and New Orleans markets was seldom "less than thirty per cent." This margin, he says, was necessary to cover "the cost of feeding, clothing, sheltering, guarding and transporting the slaves for the several months commonly elapsing between purchase and sale in the trade," to care for losses resulting from illness, death, escape, and accident, and to yield a profit to the traders. *American Negro Slavery*, 201.

\$550 each.⁷⁷ Both were sold on February 24; the former brought \$700, the latter, \$400.⁷⁸ Prime field hands were usually sold at an advance of \$50 to \$100 over cost, but the immature, the middle-aged, and the physically defective greatly reduced the profit on each lot. A comparison of the cost and selling prices of such slaves as may be traced by name, age, and color through two sets of bills yields the startling conclusion that a gross profit of about \$15 per head was realized on this aspect of the business.⁷⁹ While most of each parcel were marketed within a month or two after purchase, it was not unusual for some to remain on hand for three or four months, with the cost of maintenance substantially reducing the net profit.

Franklin retired from the New Orleans trade in 1835, at least as an active participant. The last sale recorded in the notarial acts bears the date April 17 of that year.⁸⁰ By an act of procuration a week later he granted power of attorney to the factorage firm of N. and J. Dick and Company.⁸¹ The act specified that the firm was to answer correspondence; make, accept, and pay promissory notes and bills of exchange; draw checks and drafts; make collections; hire, sell, and accept mortgages upon slaves; and lease or convey lands, buildings, vessels, and other prop-

⁷⁷ Notarial Records, William Boswell, No. 91, February 11, 1830.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 105, February 24, 1830.

⁷⁹ Of 369 slaves purchased in large parcels in New Orleans, records of the sale of 185, or about one-half, have been located. Thirty-eight out of 52 purchased from George Davis on February 11, 1830, yielded a gross profit of about \$41 per head; 24 out of 34 purchased from James R. Franklin on December 5, 1829, yielded an average loss of over \$13. *Ibid.*, No. 91, February 11, 1830; No. 322, December 5, 1829. The absence of complete figures, however, renders these data of little practical value.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, William Boswell, No. 493, April 17, 1835.

⁸¹ The firm consisted of Nathaniel Dick, James Dick, William James McLean, and H. R. W. Hill.

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erty.⁸² Two years later power of attorney was delegated to James Harvey Shepherd, another New Orleans merchant.⁸³

Franklin and Armfield had grown rich in the slave trade. Benjamin Lundy estimated that the firm netted \$33,000 in 1829,⁸⁴ and Abdy was informed five years later that the junior partner was worth nearly half a million.⁸⁵ Franklin's estate in the middle forties was appraised at three quarters of a million dollars, and a large proportion of it had been accumulated in the traffic. Several of his contemporaries alluded to him as a millionaire, and there is some reason to believe that his property was actually worth that much. But along with wealth had come a modicum of stigma resulting from participation in a business that was tolerated only because it was regarded as a necessity.

The year 1835 was a turning point in Franklin's career. It marked the beginning of his retirement from the slave trade and the expansion of his planting interests. A few years before he had built a "great house" upon his Tennessee plantation, and a few weeks after he shifted his New Orleans business to his merchant friends, he purchased a half interest in a large Louisiana estate. Heretofore he had been known as Isaac Franklin, *slave trader*; henceforward he was to be Isaac Franklin, *planter*.

⁸² Notarial Records, William Boswell, No. 542, April 24, 1835.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, No. 918, April 29, 1837. See also, *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register*, 1834, p. 190.

⁸⁴ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, January 22, 1830, quoted in Mary Tremain, *Slavery in the District of Columbia, The Policy of Congress and the Struggle for Abolition* (University of Nebraska Seminary Papers, No. 2 [New York, 1892]), 50-51.

⁸⁵ Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States*, II, 180.

CHAPTER VII

THE TENNESSEE AND LOUISIANA PLANTATIONS

Soon after the close of the War of 1812, Isaac Franklin began the accumulation of miscellaneous parcels of land in Middle Tennessee which eventually constituted a considerable plantation. The conveyance records of Sumner County list eighteen tracts purchased in the period between 1815 and 1842. These totaled approximately 2,000 acres for which Franklin paid in the neighborhood of \$21,000. All of them lay either along the Cumberland River or along the east and west forks of Station Camp Creek, a tributary of the Cumberland.

The original tract, embracing 132 acres, was purchased from Franklin's father on May 1, 1815. Its boundaries were so characteristic of the indefinite markers of the period that the deed record is worth quoting: "it being & lying in the County of Sumner & North side of Cumberland River & West fork of Station Camp Creek bounded as follows to wit Beginning at a Sugar tree & Elm the South West corner of s^d. Jas. Franklin Senior preemption Track thence North two hundred & Eighty Eight poles to a Hickory & Dogwood s^d. Jas. Franklins North West corner of his preemption thence West Eighty poles to a stake thence South two hundred and Eighty poles to a stake on s^d. Jas. Franklins South boundary line of preemption thence with said line West Eighty poles to the Beginning,

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with all the woods waters mines & minerals & appurtenances thereto.”¹

Franklin resided on this farm—some five and a half miles west of Gallatin—until he purchased and improved the Fairvue place in 1830. Many of his subsequent acquisitions embraced contiguous tracts,² so that his holdings

¹ Sumner County (Tennessee) Deed Record, VII (1814-1817), 280-81.

² In addition to the original tract, the following parcels were purchased: On January 15, 1816, he bought for \$471 a tract situated between the east and west forks of Station Camp Creek from Edmund Bridges (*ibid.*, 289-90); on September 9, 1823, James M. Green sold him 150 acres lying on both sides of the west fork of Station Camp Creek for \$1,800 (*ibid.*, X [1821-1825], 413-14); the elder Franklin's will of December 10, 1828, bequeathed Isaac Franklin a tract “on the North side of the West Fork of Station Camp Creek, beginning at said Creek where my North boundary line of preemption crosses sd. Creek, thence down said Creek a certain distance so as a straight line to James Franklin Jr. west corner will leave the Spring two poles to North of said line, from thence with my North boundary line of preemption to the beginning” (Sumner County Will Book, II [1823-1842], 91-93); on August 11, 1829, Franklin purchased from Ann Bloodworth for \$75 a tract of twenty-five acres on the east side of the west fork of Station Camp Creek “adjoining the lands of the said Isaac on his western boundary” (Sumner County Deed Record, XII [1828-1831], 224); on September 27, 1830, two tracts were purchased from Norvall Douglass for \$2,350 cash, one, containing 216½ acres, situated on Station Camp Creek, the other, containing 225 acres, lying on the Cumberland River above the mouth of the aforesaid creek (*ibid.*, 364-65); three several tracts were conveyed to Franklin on September 9, 1831, by Joseph McRaynolds: the first a parcel of 166 acres on the Cumberland River for \$1,162 (*ibid.*, XIII [1831-1834], 81-82); the second a tract of 193 acres for \$1,351 (*ibid.*, 101); and the third a tract of 50 acres, price not stated (*ibid.*, 102); on September 17, 1831, he purchased from Chapman Johnson 509 acres adjoining his estate for \$8 an acre (*ibid.*, 53-54); on July 9, 1832, he purchased 17 acres of Lena Bloodworth for \$100 (*ibid.*, 209-10); on July 2, 1833, he bought 17 acres of John Bloodworth for \$100 (*ibid.*, 444-45); on July 3, 1834, he purchased 70 acres of William Bloodworth for \$100 (*ibid.*, XIV [1834-1836], 314-15); on October 13, 1834, Franklin bought of Willie Lasiter 79 acres for \$1,185 (*ibid.*, 295-96); on the same day he bought of Bartholomew Britt 165¾ acres for \$2,774 (*ibid.*, 296); on October 11, 1837, he purchased of Feraby Bloodworth 17 acres plus for \$100 (*ibid.*, XVIII [1841-1843], 556-57); on September 9, 1841, he purchased of Thomas A. Baber two tracts, the first, of one plus acres, and the second, of nine plus acres, for \$227.12 (*ibid.*, XX [1846-1848], 279-80); and on April 22, 1842, he bought of Thomas Barry 274 acres for \$8,225.25 cash (*ibid.*, XVIII [1841-1843], 206-07).

in the Fairvue vicinity were eventually rounded out into a unified plantation.³ Located on the Nashville-Gallatin road some three and a half miles from the latter village, the estate had water communication with Nashville and also with Franklin's holdings in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. The Nashville Basin,⁴ in which the land was situated, was a fertile and beautiful bluegrass region much like that of Kentucky, except that it was smaller. The gently rolling land was drained by the Cumberland and its several local tributaries, and sundry salt licks promoted stockraising as well as human existence. Although the basin produced both cotton and tobacco, Franklin concentrated upon grain and livestock. Especially after he purchased cotton plantations in the Lower Mississippi Valley, he found it profitable to raise "bread and meat for his quarters in the South."⁵

The plantation house at Fairvue was a spacious two-story brick mansion with four large rooms on either floor, several smaller ones in the garret, and a wing at one end of the main building. Kitchen and smokehouse stood apart from the dwelling. The roof consisted of "fine cedar shingles, which were painted before they were nailed on"; copper sheeting covered the flat portion. The mansion cost approximately \$10,000; the furnishings a similar amount. These were "in splendid and most costly style";

³ In the years 1834-1835, Franklin sold four pieces of land: 206 acres to William Franklin for \$2,472 on October 3, 1834 (*ibid.*, XIV [1834-1836], 265-66); 23¼ acres to William Cooley for \$352 on October 13, 1834 (*ibid.*, XV [1836-1837], 27); 123 acres to William Franklin for \$1,638 on June 27, 1835 (*ibid.*, XIV [1834-1836], 449-500); 75¾ acres to Jesse Cage for \$1,212 on September 18, 1835 (*ibid.*, 556).

⁴ For a description of the Nashville Basin, see Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 83.

⁵ Testimony of William Cantrell, a farmer whose land adjoined Franklin's. *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 285.

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the five-hundred-dollar mantelpieces were "of the finest Kilkenny marble." The yard was adorned with "rare shrubbery both from the south and north," and the "conservatory for flowers" was "warmed by pipes." Graveled walks, regularly laid off and curbed, fringed and intersected the flower and shrubbery garden. At the right of the house an underground silo-shaped brick icehouse was enclosed with a brick fence. A frame building in one corner of the yard originally served as a hospital, but was later converted into a servants' house.

The slave quarter consisted of fifteen or twenty substantial double brick houses "laid off on the plan of a town, the overseer's house in the center." There were two brick barns, one "with many corn cribs," the other "used by the farm hands." In the same lot with the stable and carriage house stood "a hostler's house with four rooms and [a] two-story gallery in front." The blacksmith's and carpenter's shops were also of brick, but the mill and cotton gin were frame structures.⁶

In constructing these buildings, Franklin employed two workmen, Morrison and Wilson, for a five-year period. His slaves worked under their supervision and a few of them thus became skilled laborers. Other improvements were then added to Fairvue by his own slaves.⁷ On occasion Franklin employed a "house-carpenter," Lewis T. White, whose wages averaged thirty-five dollars per month over a period of five years.⁸

⁶ This description of Fairvue is based upon the writer's observations upon a visit to the estate in June, 1930, and upon testimony of witnesses obtained on May 3, 1851, recorded in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 273-304, *passim*. The testimony is summarized in 7 La. Ann. 395 (1852).

⁷ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 277, 286, 294.

⁸ White was in Franklin's employ in 1834, 1839, and 1844-1846. *Ibid.*, 291, 294.

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An inventory of the Tennessee estate taken in 1847⁹ showed that there were 138 slaves on the Fairvue place, valued at \$51,931. Four of them were listed as skilled laborers: Bill Jay was a bricklayer thirty-six years old, appraised at \$1,000; Mathison, a blacksmith, thirty years, at \$850; Clark, a brickmason, twenty-seven, at \$800; and John Jennings, a carpenter, twenty-five, at \$700. The plantation comprised at that time about 2,000 acres and was appraised at twenty dollars an acre.¹⁰ The whole plantation, it was said, "was in a very good state of cultivation,"¹¹ but some of it undoubtedly was woodland and pasture. The records do not indicate the amount and variety of farm crops produced, but a few years later the fact that the overseer "had about 600 acres in corn . . . [and] a large amount in small grain," accidentally found its way into print.¹² Although Franklin attempted to produce a surplus of grain to transport to his Louisiana estate, on occasion he was forced to buy corn for his Tennessee place.

The inventory of 1847 reveals that Franklin possessed sixteen blooded¹³ and twenty-six work horses, thirty-one

⁹ On September 28, 1847, an inventory of Franklin's property, other than that situated in Louisiana, was taken by his executors, John Arnfield and Oliver B. Hayes, and his brother, William Franklin. Lewis T. White and John F. Sanderson witnessed the appraisal. *Ibid.*, 699-708; *post*, Pt. II, No. 7.

¹⁰ One of Franklin's neighbors, Eli Odem, testified in 1851 that the land was worth from \$22.50 to \$25 an acre. *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 282. A parcel of 275 acres had been purchased much earlier at \$30 an acre. *Ibid.*, 299.

¹¹ Testimony of Lewis T. White, carpenter. *Ibid.*, 292.

¹² Testimony of Thomas Barry, lawyer. *Ibid.*, 300-01.

¹³ Franklin manifested considerable interest in blooded stock. He maintained a training stable at his Fairvue place and thought seriously of building more pretentious quarters for his horses. When neighbors called, the usual topic of conversation was "his fine horses and other stock, and his negroes." The sixteen blooded horses which he had at Fairvue are an indication that he had more than passing interest in the Nashville Racecourse, of which he was part owner. *Ibid.*, 300-02.



A TWO-FAMILY SLAVE HOUSE



BRICK OUTBUILDINGS AND ROLLING BLUEGRASS LAND

Fairvue Scenes

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mules, two jacks, five jennies, sixty-five head of cattle, four yoke of oxen, two hundred and seventy-six sheep, and five hundred hogs. He kept a carriage and barouche, two wagons, three ox-carts, a horse cart, and a baggage wagon. Farming implements and household machinery included forty plows and gears, two large and six small harrows, fifty weeding and ten grubbing hoes, twenty axes, two threshing machines, two fan mills, a corn sheller, two cutters, four spinning wheels, two spinning machines, four looms, two dock reels, a grindstone, and a pair of balances. The appraised value of the movable property at Fairvue totaled \$10,888.¹⁴

Because Franklin's Louisiana interests necessitated his presence there several months in each year, he depended upon his father-in-law, Oliver B. Hayes of Nashville, to manage his affairs in Tennessee. An unhappy event at Fairvue during the winter of 1845-1846, which he spent in New Orleans, led him to consider breaking up the Tennessee plantation. After learning that a slave had killed or incapacitated the overseer, a certain Branch, he wrote to Hayes, January 2, 1846: "*I will be compelled to break up that whole establishment; if I do not change my mind, I will take the greater part of the hands off next fall, and put them on some of my lands in Louisiana; they give me more trouble than all my other property.*" Franklin recommended that Lewis T. White oversee the plantation in Branch's place "until some other person can be had, which I would (wish) you to get if not too much trouble." Further, "If you have not [in]vested the balance to my credit in the Merchants' Insurance and Trust Company, you had better retain a sufficient amount to pay for what corn will do at Fairvue; if you are not able, you

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 704-05; *post*, Pt. II, No. 7.

will authorize White or Branch to purchase and give an order on you for the money; you have been [to] so much trouble with my business that I will never be able to cancel the obligations." ¹⁵

There is other evidence that Franklin had difficulty in finding a satisfactory overseer for the Fairvue place. Some time in 1845 or 1846, whether before or after Branch's misfortune it is impossible to say, he sought to induce White, the carpenter who had been in his employ periodically over a number of years, to assume responsibility there. "I told him," White recorded a few years later, "that I would not oversee for him for less than one thousand dollars a year, and that I would not take my wife into his negro quarter for all that he possessed; he then offered me . . . the hostler's house . . . to occupy during the time that he and his wife was at home; he also said that I might occupy his dwelling during their absence; I told him I would not do that; I then said to him, if I were in your place I would sell out all of my property below [in Louisiana] and stay at home and enjoy myself with my family; he replied that he would do so, but could not find any person wishing to buy that was able; he said that he wanted to get Mr. Armfield hooked in so that he might put the trouble on him." ¹⁶

It has already been intimated that Franklin invested much of the profit acquired in the slave trade in several Louisiana plantations. On May 27, 1835, he purchased an undivided half of the property of Francis Routh in West Feliciana Parish. This consisted of several tracts of land on the east bank of the Mississippi River, totaling 7,767

¹⁵ Isaac Franklin to Oliver B. Hayes, January 2, 1846, in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 438.

¹⁶ Testimony of Lewis T. White. *Ibid.*, 294.

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acres, and 205 negro slaves, together with the stock of horses and cows, sheep and hogs, farm implements and tools. The purchase price of the half-interest amounted to \$150,000, of which \$106,960.76 was paid in cash. The balance of \$43,039.24 was payable on March 1, 1836, and was secured by a promissory note drawn in favor of Ballard, Franklin, and Company.¹⁷

Two days after the above transaction was recorded, Franklin and Routh formed a partnership¹⁸ "for the purpose of Planting Corn & Cotton, and such other things as is customary & necessary on Cotton Plantations." The articles of agreement recited that Routh should "give his personal attention to the direction and superintendence of said co-partnership plantation and its concerns," but that this power was "to be equal in all respects, when the said Isaac Franklin may choose to give his personal attention to the direction of said plantation."¹⁹

Events were soon to occur which made Franklin sole owner of the estate. As early as 1828 Routh had encumbered his property with mortgages.²⁰ After he disposed of

¹⁷ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 28-32; *post*, Pt. II, No. 1. See also, 7 La. Ann. 395 (1852).

¹⁸ John Armfield testified in 1851: "the courts decided, that the contract between Routh and Mr. Franklin, was not a co-partnership. . . . Mr. Franklin was sued on some of those contracts, as I understand, and so far as I know, in the State courts. I know of his having been sued on account of Routh's business, in the parish of West Feliciana." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 342.

As an example, Noah Hayden, a Louisville merchant, brought suit in the Commercial Court of New Orleans (petition filed November 11, 1845) to collect \$728.79 plus interest at 6 per cent from October 5, 1835, until paid. On that date, Hayden claimed, Franklin and Routh purchased "a lot of goods and merchandise" and neither partner had paid any of the account. *Ibid.*, 457-58.

¹⁹ The articles of copartnership are available in West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 263-64; *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 471-74; *post*, Pt. II, No. 2.

²⁰ Apparently Routh had large landholdings elsewhere in Louisiana (see Notarial Records at Vidalia, Louisiana, *passim*) and probably in Mississippi.

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a half interest in 1835, he continued to pledge his land and slaves as security for loans, and the Panic of 1837 apparently completed his financial collapse. On December 22, 1837, the sheriff of West Feliciana Parish seized and sold at public auction to satisfy creditors, 3,600 acres of land and thirty-five slaves. Franklin bid in both land and negroes for \$72,500.²¹ About a month later, January 17, 1838, the sheriff seized the remaining portion of Routh's share, which Franklin purchased for \$350 in cash, over and above mortgages the face value of which amounted to \$256,152.35.²²

On February 26, 1838, the property which had been held in partnership²³ was appraised at \$159,507. The inventory reveals that the partners had organized their holdings into three plantations. "Lock Lomond," usually spelled "Lochlomond," contained 2,372 acres, valued at \$22,800. The forty-seven slaves on the plantation were appraised at \$19,350, and the "Stock of Cattle, Hogs,

²¹ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 355-56; *post*, Pt. II, No. 3.

²² West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 367-69; *post*, Pt. II, No. 4. Two mortgages totaling \$134,401.39 were held by Franklin and by Ballard, Franklin, and Company.

²³ It appears from the court records that Routh declined to give possession on the stipulated date, October 1, 1838. On November 30, Franklin filed a petition with the West Feliciana District Court praying "that said Francis Routh be cited in due course of law, that himself, his family servants and effects be ordered, adjudged and decreed to be removed forthwith." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 440-43.

However, "in consideration of the respect and regard which he [Franklin] has for Mrs. Mary Haynes Lane, the wife of Mr. Francis Routh, . . . and to remunerate her for the losses which she has sustained by the forced alienation and sale of her separate property, . . . and to enable . . . [her] to secure to herself a comfortable support for herself and her family, in some other residence," Franklin, by act of "donation," transferred to her twenty-one slaves, "five head of English horned cattle, three horses, and one mule, which were brought from Natchez," \$1,000 in cash, and a bond for \$8,000 payable February 1, 1839. *Ibid.*, 443-47.

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Horses, Farming Utensils & Household & Kitchen furniture," at \$1,470. "Killarney" embraced 800 acres, estimated at \$5,600. There were forty-three slaves, valued at \$19,500, and the horses and mules, oxen and oxcarts, tools and furniture, were appraised at \$1,650. "Belle View," ordinarily written in the records as "Bellevue," comprised exactly a section of land and was inventoried at \$3,200. The 134 slaves on this plantation were appraised at \$56,100. Twenty yoke of oxen were estimated at \$50 per yoke, 400 head of cattle at \$7 per head, thirty-two horses and mules at \$60 each, and three oxcarts and yokes at \$60 apiece. Hogs were valued at \$100, outhouses at \$500, implements and tools at \$495, furniture and medicine at \$500, and miscellaneous items at \$150. Two additional tracts of land, evidently not under cultivation, contained 346 and 640 acres, respectively. In addition there were 210 bales of cotton worth \$32 per bale, "and a Quantity of Seed-Cotton on the Plantations Lock Lomond & Belle View Estimated to make 240 Bales of cleaned Cotton at \$28 pr Bale."²⁴

Very soon Franklin increased the number of slaves on his Louisiana plantations. On February 16, 1839, he purchased of Thomas Hundley of Amherst County, Virginia, fourteen male hands and seven females, two of whom had infant children. With the exception of Peter Thornton and Moses Pierce, purchased for \$950 and \$1,100 respectively, the males varied in age from nineteen to twenty-five and cost from \$800 to \$850. The bill of sale was sealed at Vidalia, Louisiana, across the river from Natchez.²⁵

²⁴ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 369-74; *post*, Pt. II, No. 5.

²⁵ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 348-49. The dominant price of the males was \$100 lower than that indicated by the chart in Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, opposite p. 370. The bill of sale described the slaves as follows:

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In contrast with the brick structures at Fairvue, the buildings on Franklin's Louisiana plantations were of wood. The residence at Bellevue in which Routh had previously lived was maintained by the new owner for his use during the winter months. The house, originally log with a frame addition, "was old and the galleries somewhat decayed." The furniture, too, was very ordinary, although it included a piano.²⁰ As early as 1844, Franklin planned a new residence, as he found the old one inadequate to his needs. He showed James S. Clack, his general agent, the "place where he intended to build; said he was

<i>Name</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Bob Jones	black	25	\$1150
Henry Miller	brown	23	1150
Washington Green	black	22	1150
Squire Preston	copper or brown	22	1150
Peter Felson	black	22	1150
Warner Ross	black	22	1150
Micajah Scott	black	21	1150
John Gilliland	brown	21	1150
Daniel Gilliland	black	19	1150
Dick Craig	brown	21	1150
Moses Pierce	copper	20	1100
Frank Poindexter	copper	20	1150
Walter Brooks	brown	19	1150
Peter Thornton	black	16	950
Sally Pettyjohn	brown	18	
Ellick, her infant child	yellow		both at 850
Agness Dunbar	black	18	850
Ann Miller	black	18	850
Julia Tony	black	18	800
Mariah Watts	black	18	850
Lydia Alexander	brown	17	800
Abby Scott	yellow	18	
Tom, her infant	yellow		both at 850
<i>Total</i>			\$21,700

The figure at which Dick Craig was listed in the bill of sale, \$2,150, must be an error as the total in that case would be \$1,000 too much.

²⁰ Descriptions of the dwelling are available in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 290, 338, 342, 347, 373.

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going to raise a mound and build a fine residence on it; he spoke of having it built by Mr. Wren, a carpenter, then employed in building cabins, as soon as they should be finished; he spoke of it with pride as something very handsome that he would build; he spoke of having private tutors there for his children as soon as he got his new house built.”²⁷ On the other hand, H. R. W. Hill, a New Orleans factor with whom Franklin did business for many years and who visited at the Louisiana estate, insisted that the Bellevue house was “comfortable”; that Franklin “had great pride in having comforts for his friends wherever he resided; he often invited my family to visit him there; he was proud of his estate, and intended, had he of [*sic*] lived, as he told me, to divide it between his children, designating to each one their particular plantation.”²⁸

Improvements at Bellevue included a ginhouse and press worth \$3,000; a barn valued at \$1,000; a gristmill appraised at \$500; eight negro cabins estimated at \$400; and four cisterns valued at \$300. Between 1839 and 1846 three miles of plank fence were built, and 350 acres of land were “cleared, ditched, fenced and put into cultivation” at a cost of about \$45 per acre.²⁹ The overseer at Bellevue estimated that the improvements between January 1, 1843, and May, 1846, enhanced the value of the plantation some \$10,000.³⁰

In the period between 1839 and 1846, a ginhouse and press valued at \$3,000 were added at Lochlomond, a saw-mill worth \$1,000 was erected, a corncrusher estimated at \$800 was installed, five cisterns worth \$375 were built, and 166⅔ acres of land were cleared. This land had been

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 364.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 347.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 374.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 365.

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worth \$30 an acre in 1839, and the improvements, it was estimated, added \$40 to \$45 to the value of each acre. In the three-year period ending in 1846, Lochlomond increased in value \$8,000.³¹ At Killarney a ginhouse and press had been erected at a cost of \$1,500, a gristmill at \$600, four cabins at \$200, four cisterns at \$300, and a stable, crib, and cornhouse at \$400. Over 200 acres had been prepared for cultivation, and the value of the plantation had been enhanced about \$10,000.³²

A short time before Franklin died, he established a fourth plantation which he called Angora or Angola.³³ Three hundred acres of land were cleared and cultivated by slaves from Bellevue, but this place was operated primarily as a woodyard and sawmill. Fronting the Mississippi River opposite the mouth of Red River, it was advantageously situated to profit from wood-burning river craft. At Angora a steam sawmill and gristmill had been installed at a cost of \$7,000, a dwelling estimated at \$1,000 or \$2,000 had been built, a barn worth \$1,200 had been erected, fourteen negro cabins valued at \$100 apiece had been constructed, and a hospital, cookhouse, office, storehouse, and two sheds, together valued at \$1,225, had been built. The improvements on the place increased its value about \$20,000.³⁴

In his will, dated May 24, 1841, Franklin left elaborate instructions for the management and expansion of his plantations. He appointed as executors his father-in-law, Oliver B. Hayes, and his nephew, John Armfield. Under their supervision, organization and routine on the Louisi-

³¹ *Ibid.*, 364-65, 373, 376-77.

³² *Ibid.*, 365, 374, 376.

³³ One tract of this plantation Franklin called "Thieves Harbor," because "he had to pay \$5000 to some squatters to dislodge them." *Ibid.*, 366.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 364-66, 375.

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ana plantations continued much as they had while Franklin lived. The disposition of the estate finally entailed litigation and, as a result, the records for the period 1846 to 1850 are available in the court proceedings.

"For the purpose of increasing and improving my lands and plantations and estates," read the will, the executors were instructed "to cultivate on the three plantations already opened in Louisiana [a fourth had been established between 1841 and 1846], corn and cotton, and such other crops as may be found profitable." From the revenues of his estate twenty additional slaves were to be added to Lochlomond and the same number to Killarney, together with sufficient horses, mules, and farm implements to cultivate the plantations. They were also to build on his lands in West Feliciana Parish, with slave labor, "three additional negro quarters or sets or clusters of houses, in the same style and plan as those on my other plantations, called Bellevue, Killarney, and Lochlomond; the afore-said quarters to be built at the following places, to wit: one near the woodyard fronting on the Mississippi river, sufficient for sixty hands, to be called Angora plantation; another at or near Foreman's old fields, fronting, also, on the Mississippi river, sufficient for sixty hands, to be called the Loango plantation; and the other, above Row's Bayou, fronting on the Mississippi river, sufficient for thirty hands, to be called Panola plantation." The executors were also authorized to build on each of the "new plantations, suitable ginhouses, millhouses, stables, cornhouses, [and] overseer's houses," and empowered to purchase the necessary teams and tools.

Since neither of the executors lived in the state, they were directed "to employ a general agent to superintend the several plantations in Louisiana, with a reasonable

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and competent salary; and in the absence of the executors, that he be charged with the purchasing and furnishing supplies for those plantations; the shipping and the direction of the sales of the crops, with authority to employ and discharge overseers and mechanics and workmen." ³⁵

For their services as executors, Armfield and Hayes received a commission of 2½ per cent upon the appraised valuation of Franklin's Louisiana estate, which netted each of them \$6,400. In addition each received a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars annually for "services over the duties of executors." ³⁶ James S. Clack, who had been hired in 1843 to superintend all the Louisiana plantations ³⁷ at a salary of \$1,000, and for whom Franklin "had

³⁵ Franklin's will is available in Sumner County Will Book, III (1842-1870), 79-87; Sumner County Deed Record, XXI (1848-1851), 210-17; *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 486-500; *post*, Pt. II, No. 6.

³⁶ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 139-40, 144, 725, 732, 818, 821, 848, 868, 871; *post*, Pt. III, No. 12.

³⁷ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 363-64. Clack began his duties as manager on January 1, 1843. He "had made a contract with Mr. Armfield, at Natchez, to go on Mr. Franklin's place as manager." His first meeting with Franklin was on December 20, 1843, at Bellevue plantation. *Ibid.*, 363.

It has been impossible to trace with any degree of exactness the succession of general agents and overseers on Franklin's Louisiana plantations. After Routh's interest had been purchased in 1838, he was to remove "off the said plantation, giving up the possession of the said house and premises to Mr. Wickware [Samuel Wickwire?], the manager of the said Franklin, on or before the first day of October next [1838]." *Ibid.*, 445. George Cook testified in 1851: "the first person that Franklin left in charge of Bellevue, that witness remembers, was Adams, then Bludsoe [Bledsoc?], then Alsop, then Dr. Dickerson, then Clack; they all lived in the overseer's house at the Bellevue place, and one at the Frank Routh house for a short time; Mr. Clack lived in the Frank Routh house since his marriage; . . . Clack married since Franklin's death." *Ibid.*, 370. Thomas Dowling testified in 1851 that he had known Franklin since 1833; "went into his employ in 1843; he went as overseer, and has attended to all the places, and lived on them." *Ibid.*, 367. Lewis T. White testified in 1851 that Franklin tried to persuade him in 1839 to manage his Louisiana estate at \$1,000 a year. "I told him that I would not work there in the sun; he told me he did not want me to work but just to superintend and see that

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a high regard,"³⁸ was continued in the position of "general agent." His salary was increased to \$1,250 in 1847 and to \$1,500 in 1848.³⁹ The various overseers, except James Watson who managed the woodyard and M. Gilbert who operated the sawmill, received \$500 a year. It is possible that Watson and Gilbert worked on commissions which sometimes ran well beyond that amount.⁴⁰ Luke McEvoy was employed as a ditcher, and C. G. Wren occasionally as a carpenter.⁴¹

Early in 1848 additional slaves were purchased for the two newly created plantations, a matter which was entrusted to Armfield. In January he bought thirty in New Orleans for Loango, all of whom were prime male field hands ranging in age from eighteen to thirty-five. Fifteen were purchased of Newton Boley of Winchester, Virginia, for \$780 each, except Bushrod Churchill who was valued at \$750; ten from Thomas Williams of Washington, D. C., for \$800 each; and five from Kephart and Harbin of Alexandria, Virginia, for \$780 apiece.⁴² The slave Harry, aged twenty-two, purchased of William B. Blanchard of

everything was taken care of there; . . . I told him I would not stay under no consideration." *Ibid.*, 293.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 347.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 146, 816, 842; *post*, Pt. III, No. 12.

⁴⁰ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 139, 146, 152, 230-31, 754, 817, 860, 903; *post*, Pt. III, No. 12. Thomas Dowling, and later David Dickinson, was overseer at Bellevue, Thomas Crossgrove at Killarney, and Barnett McDermott at Lochlomon. Other overseers were John Palmer, who managed the woodyard in Watson's absence, and William Murray, who may have been a business agent for the plantations. At one time he was reimbursed \$188 for traveling expenses.

⁴¹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 231-33, 235, 241, 246, 253, 738-39; *post*, Pt. III, No. 12.

⁴² These three bills of sale were recorded in West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, I (1844-1849), 466-69. They are also available in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 211-18.

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Sumner County, Tennessee, for \$825, was also placed on Loango.⁴³ About the same time, Hayes brought down the river from Tennessee a mulatto carpenter, Washington, twenty-one years old, for whom he had paid \$800.⁴⁴ The following year Armfield purchased twenty prime female field hands in New Orleans, two of them with children, Ben, aged eighteen months, and John, aged twelve months. The twenty were acquired in three parcels from Thomas Boudar and Walter L. Campbell of New Orleans and George Davis of Maryland; they ranged in age from fifteen to twenty-four; and they cost between \$600 and \$725 each, with \$675 as the dominant price. They were placed upon Panola plantation.⁴⁵

During the period that the executors controlled the estate, eighty slaves were born on the Louisiana plantations and thirty died.⁴⁶ Of the latter group, three were five or under, three were eleven to fifteen, seventeen were twenty to thirty-five, and six were in the forties and fifties. Only one, Aggy, aged sixty-five, had passed the three-score mark. There were, in fact, few superannuated slaves on any of the plantations.

With few exceptions, information of a personal nature about the negroes does not appear in the records. While Franklin was spending the winter of 1845-1846 in New Orleans, he received word that one of his slaves on Fairvue plantation "had killed Branch [the overseer], or nearly so; and that he was in jail." On January 2, Franklin wrote to Hayes at Nashville: "I am very anxious to have all the

⁴³ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, I (1844-1849), 470-71; *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 218-19.

⁴⁴ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 204.

⁴⁵ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, I (1844-1849), 475-78; *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 874-80.

⁴⁶ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 51-53; *post*, Pt. II, Nos. 9-10.

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particulars of that unfortunate occurrence at Fairvue; if the rascal has been guilty of an attempt to commit murder, he should be punished to the extent of the law, for an example to the balance.”⁴⁷ The year following Franklin’s death, an inventory recorded that Stephen, a Fairvue hand, “was charged with attempting to take the life of the overseer, and was let off on condition of being sent out of the State. Luke was also charged with being accessory to that offence, and his whole family became refractory, so that it was necessary to send them away, and [they] were put on the plantation in Louisiana.”⁴⁸ Franklin’s will directed the executors to “dispose of any refractory slaves, or those of little use or value, (except from old age).” Though there is no evidence that any of the slaves were sold for these reasons, disciplinary problems arose. Abe Smith was “charged with attempting to burn and break the jail of the parish of Jefferson, La.” and attorneys were paid fifty dollars for obtaining his release.⁴⁹ On sundry occasions it was necessary to pay “jailor’s” fees, at one time “for taking negroes out [of] jail, Jefferson County, Miss.,” the fees in that case being seventy-seven dollars.⁵⁰ Brutus was arrested on June 4, 1846, and taken to jail,⁵¹ and George G. Williams was paid seventy-five dollars on February 10, 1847, “for taking up runaway negroes.”⁵² The “Expenses for recovering [the] boy Isaac, who was stolen away” in June, 1846, amounted to \$154.50.⁵³

No regular religious services were maintained on the

⁴⁷ Isaac Franklin to Oliver B. Hayes, January 2, 1846, in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 438-39.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 704; *post*, Pt. II, No. 7.

⁴⁹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 884.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 858.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 756, 766.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 754.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 751.

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Louisiana plantations, but an annual Thanksgiving Day sermon was provided for the slaves. Thus on November 27, 1847, "Preacher Haynes" received twenty-five dollars,⁵⁴ and on November 26 of the following year this entry was recorded: "Daniel Morse, the preacher, for preaching to negroes," twenty-five dollars.⁵⁵ Their spirits were also aroused at Christmas time. An entry for December 25, 1846: "For 6 bbls. whiskey, for the hands for Christmas, . . . [\$]49." ⁵⁶ This also was undoubtedly an annual affair as the accounts for December of other years record the purchase of six barrels of whiskey.

Such slaves as wished to earn money could do so by picking Spanish moss which hung from live oak and other trees. Franklin had instructed his superintendent to pay his negroes for moss and the executors continued the custom. In the spring and summer of 1847, Clack paid slaves \$350.71 for moss. It was usually shipped up the river and there are records of consignments to St. Louis, Paducah, Louisville, and Nashville.⁵⁷

In 1846 Dr. Lucas Gee contracted to serve as physician ⁵⁸ for the slaves on the various Louisiana plantations for \$500. From March to September he made more than fifty visits—two of them "nocte," and prescribed in about eighty cases. For a "Visit and prescription" he usually charged nine or ten dollars, though the amount was more

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 858.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 753. See also, *ibid.*, 837.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 231, 243-44, 754, 859, 867-68; *post*, Pt. III, No. 3.

⁵⁸ Dr. Noah B. Benedict, a resident of Wilkinson County, Mississippi, sued Franklin in 1845 in the West Feliciana District Court for \$98 with interest at 5 per cent from January 1, 1843, until paid. Between August 5 and October 24, 1842, Benedict "was called on as a physician to attend said Franklin's negroes; that at various times during said year, and between said two above mentioned periods, this petitioner did attend and prescribe for said Franklin's negroes." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 462-63.

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if he prescribed in several cases. Although some planters were opposed to bleeding negroes, apparently it was looked upon with favor by Franklin's general agent, for Dr. Gee recorded on June 7, "Leeches, (100)." The total bill for the year, \$559, was "Reduced by contract" to an even five hundred.⁵⁹ Gee also served as personal physician to Franklin and "attended upon him" during his last illness.⁶⁰ Accounts filed in 1849 show that four or five doctors rendered services during the preceding year.⁶¹

Drugs and medical supplies, purchased of Andrew Oliver and Company, Thomas Langridge, and Hugh Kennedy, all of New Orleans, cost about \$300 to \$500 annually.⁶² Among drugs and medicines purchased were pills, salt tartar, pulverized gum Arabic, jalap, calomel, morphine, alum, laudanum, turpentine, magnesia, and paregoric, but the heaviest expenditures were for quinine, castor oil, and flaxseed. In 1846, sixty-six ounces of quinine cost \$210, thirty-seven and one-half gallons of castor oil amounted to \$33.75, and forty-five pounds of flaxseed were set down at \$21.37. Between January 31, 1848, and January 15, 1849, the executors purchased drugs and medical supplies of Thomas Langridge to the extent of \$586.83. This bill included a turnkey, a pair of forceps, gum, spring, and thumb lancets, a scarificator, a speculum, an eight-ounce graduate, two sets of scales and weights, five large trusses, and two yards of adhesive plaster. It also included orders of ipecac, cream tartar,

⁵⁹ The itemized account appeared in *ibid.*, 739-41. See also, *post*, Pt. III, No. 5.

⁶⁰ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 482. Dr. Gee received \$500 "for his services rendered the late Isaac Franklin," March 27, 1847. *Ibid.*, 141.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 864 ff.; *post*, Pt. III, No. 5.

⁶² *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 171-73, 782-84, 838-40, 887-90; *post*, Pt. III, No. 6.

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copavia, elixir vitriol, borax, calomel, alum, opodeldoc, sugar of lead, snake root, hartshorn, spirits of niter, Epsom salts, camphor, quinine, castile soap (thirty-four pounds), opium, turpentine, ginger, Dover's powder, Kentucky mustard, blister plaster (four pounds), laudanum, prussic acid, paregoric, flaxseed, tartar emetine, tincture cantharides, jalap, blue mass, sulphur, vermifuge, lunar caustic, and alcohol. These purchases indicate that many ailments among the slave population were taken care of on the plantation without resort to a physician.⁶³

The estate in Louisiana derived its income from the sale of cotton, wood, and lumber. The records for the cotton crop of 1846 are not complete, but for the next three years the figures are available. In 1847 the yield was nearly 1,200 bales and the proceeds a little over \$41,000. The crop of 1848 made 1,150 bales, but a general decline in the price of cotton sent the proceeds down to \$26,000. The 1,010 bales produced the following year sold for more than \$42,000.⁶⁴ The woodyard at Angola yielded from \$10,000 to \$20,000 annually between 1846 and 1850, and the sawmill about a fourth as much in the same period.⁶⁵

By the middle forties Franklin contemplated the introduction of sugar cane to supplement cotton as a money crop. Champomier's annual statement of 1845-1846 lists him as one of two prospective producers in West Feliciana Parish for 1847-1848. Apparently Clack attempted to

⁶³ For a brief discussion of medical care of negro slaves, see Richard H. Shryock, "Medical Practice in the Old South," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1902-), XXIX (1930), 172-75.

⁶⁴ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 155, 160, 820, 847, 850-51, 853; *post*, Pt. III, No. 1.

⁶⁵ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 149-50, 153, 230, 366, 724, 748-49, 816, 817, 856, 860; *post*, Pt. III, No. 2.

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carry out Franklin's wishes, for on January 5, 1847, he purchased \$191.28 worth of seed cane of Francis Routh. There is no evidence in the financial records, however, that any sugar was marketed, and Champomier did not list the estate in future statements, albeit an increasing number of West Feliciana planters began to grow cane.⁶⁶

Although much corn was grown on the Louisiana plantations and some was sent down the river from Fairvue, the supply was inadequate and several boatloads were purchased each year.⁶⁷ Mess pork, bacon sides, and shoulders were also available from the Fairvue place, but there were other importations from Nashville, Louisville, and Cincinnati.⁶⁸ Boots and shoes were usually bought from the Tennessee penitentiary.⁶⁹ Much of the business of the estate, however, was done through three New Orleans factors, the firms of Dick and Hill at 85 Canal Street,⁷⁰ Nalle and Cox at 90 Camp Street,⁷¹ and Hill, McLean, and Company, a reorganization of the firm of Dick and Hill. To these commission merchants cotton was consigned, which they sold at a commission of 2½ per cent, and most bills were paid by drafts drawn upon them.⁷²

There were several times in his life when Franklin tired of his involved responsibilities and desired to be relieved of some of them. His gradual retirement from the

⁶⁶ P. A. Champomier, *Statement of the Sugar Crop Made in Louisiana in 1845-6* (New Orleans, 1846), 34-35; *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 771, 782.

⁶⁷ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 197, 198, 200, 750, 754; *post*, Pt. III, No. 10.

⁶⁸ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 201-02, 233-34, 843, 868; *post*, Pt. III, No. 7.

⁶⁹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 144, 203, 763; *post*, Pt. III, No. 8.

⁷⁰ *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 210.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 439.

⁷² *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, *passim*; *post*, Pt. III. For a brief discussion of factorage, especially as it related to the Lower Mississippi Valley, see the introduction to Part III.

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slave trade prior to the Panic of 1837 has already been indicated. Not long after he acquired sole ownership of the West Feliciana estate, he confided to Lewis White, his Fairvue carpenter, that he would dispose of his Louisiana plantations if he could find a buyer. A few years later he contemplated breaking up his Fairvue place, at least to the extent of removing most of the slaves to his quarters in the Lower South. On one occasion, so he informed White in 1839, he formed a partnership with his nephew, James Franklin, by which the latter would "manage the whole business, and they were to divide the proceeds." But before the plan materialized, James died and Franklin was still engulfed in plantation management.⁷³

Franklin's scattered interests caused him much worry, and his premature death was due in part to his strenuous business career. In the spring of 1846, after passing the winter in New Orleans, he became ill and, after taking medicine, departed with his family for the West Feliciana plantations. There, after a continued illness of six days, he died on April 27. Dr. Gee, who administered to his slaves, "attended upon him, and pronounced it a case of congestion of the stomach."⁷⁴ His body was preserved in alcohol and sent to Tennessee for burial.⁷⁵ But the grief-stricken Mrs. Franklin had yet other sorrows before her. On June 8 the second child, Adelia, died of croup and bronchitis,⁷⁶ and Victoria, the eldest girl, died of the same trouble three days later.⁷⁷

Isaac Franklin's will occupies fourteen pages in the suc-

⁷³ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 293.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 482.

⁷⁵ In his will Franklin left elaborate instructions for the establishment of a family cemetery and the erection of a vault at Fairvue. *Ibid.*, 495-96.

⁷⁶ Hayes and Armfield to John L. Lobbell, June 10, 1846, *ibid.*, 547-48.

⁷⁷ Hayes to Lobbell, June 12, 1846, *ibid.*, 549.

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cession records and is concerned both with the expansion and disposition of the estate.⁷⁸ As has been noted already, it provided for the establishment of additional plantations out of his West Feliciana lands, which were intended for his children. To Mrs. Franklin he bequeathed all property which she received from her father, together with the household furniture, liquors, and provisions at Fairvue. During her widowhood she was to receive out of the revenues from Franklin's estate sufficient money to support herself and children, and they were to remain upon the Fairvue place, having full use of "the dwelling house, outhouses, buildings, fixtures, gardens, lands and improvements, slaves, cattle, horses, mules and other stock, personal property, &c." Should his wife remarry before the children came of age, his executors were to take charge of the Tennessee estate and serve as guardians to his children during their minority; they were also to provide his wife with \$100,000, payable over a period of years. Two-thirds of his Louisiana property was to be divided equally among his three children.⁷⁹ Franklin's brothers, James and William, were to receive \$5,000 each, and legacies were also provided for his four namesakes: \$5,000 to each of his nephews, Isaac Franklin Purvis⁸⁰ and Isaac Franklin Wood;⁸¹ \$2,000 to Isaac Franklin Cantrel, a grand nephew;⁸² and \$1,000 to Isaac Franklin Greene, the son

⁷⁸ *Ante*, n. 35.

⁷⁹ To Victoria, the only child at the time the will was made in 1841, he left one-third of his Louisiana property. Should a second child be born, one-half of the Louisiana estate was to be divided between the two; if there were three children, they were to heir two-thirds of it.

⁸⁰ He was the son of Franklin's sister Margaret and Allen Purvis of Sumner County.

⁸¹ He was the son of Franklin's sister Jane and John Wood of Missouri.

⁸² He was the son of Franklin's niece May Franklin and Zebulon Cantrel of Sumner County.

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of Franklin's Sumner County friend, James Greene.

The remaining portion of his property, whether personal or real, was to be used to establish an academy at Fairvue to be known as Isaac Franklin Institute. Its purpose was to provide "a substantial and good English education, and . . . other higher and ornamental branches" for his own, his brothers', and his sisters' children and their descendants. If sufficient funds were available, the trustees were to select other pupils of good character from the poor children of Sumner County. It was estimated that approximately \$600,000 would be available for the seminary.⁸³ Two brothers, James and William Franklin, were designated as trustees with power to appoint their successors. On December 1, 1847, the Tennessee legislature passed an act incorporating "Isaac Franklin Institute" with "succession for five hundred years, a seal, authority to make statutes for its regulation, the same power of conferring degrees as is possessed by any literary institution in the State, the faculty of suing and being sued in any judicature in the country, and the power of acquiring and holding, for the purpose of its creation, property, real and personal." Already James had died, and the act vested full right in the hands of the surviving trustee to nominate, either by will or deed, three successors.⁸⁴ By deed of March 15, 1850, he designated Dr. John W. Franklin, Albert C. Franklin, and Horace F. Anderson.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, in March, 1848, Mrs. Franklin sold her life

⁸³ Nashville *Whig*, September 15, 1846; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, October 7, 1846; New Orleans *Daily Delta*, December 19, 1846.

⁸⁴ Tennessee *Acts*, 1847-1848, Chap. VI, pp. 24-28. The act is also available in Sumner County Deed Record, XXII (1850-1853), 33-36; *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 463-67.

⁸⁵ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 447-48.

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interest in Fairvue plantation and that of her daughter Emma to Trustee William Franklin for \$30,000.⁸⁶ A year later she married Colonel Joseph A. S. Acklen of Tennessee,⁸⁷ and under a provision of the will she would now receive \$100,000. The question had already arisen, however, whether she would accept the legacies provided in the will, and if so, would acceptance affect her community rights of acquets and gains in the Louisiana estate, that is, her title to one-half of the increase of the property since her marriage to Franklin in 1839. In June, 1852, the Louisiana Supreme Court decided that the clause of the will which provided for the establishment of the seminary out of revenues derived in part from the West Feliciana property was "void on the ground that it set up a perpetuity."⁸⁸ As a result the academy failed to materialize

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 397-403.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 20. According to Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee*, 450-51, Acklen was a grandson of John Hunt, founder of Huntsville, Alabama. He served as United States Attorney for the Northern District of Alabama from Van Buren to Polk. During the Mexican War he rose to the rank of colonel. After his marriage to Mrs. Franklin, he devoted much of his time to the management of the Louisiana plantations, but returned to Nashville each year for the warmer months, July to October. "In 1859 he began to build a country house on the style of a Gothic castle, with a great central hall and fifty rooms exclusive of baths and closets. The building was expected to cost \$150,000, and the furnishings \$125,000 more." Milledgeville (Georgia) *Federal Union*, August 2, 1859, cited in Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 239-40. There is no evidence that the mansion was built. Acklen died in Louisiana in 1863.

Perhaps Acklen's most enduring contribution to Southern history was an elaborate set of rules for the guidance of overseers on the Louisiana plantations. These were published in *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XXI (1856), 617-20; XXII (1857), 376-81. A few years later he published them in an eighteen-page pamphlet, *Rules, Regulations and Instructions, for the Management, Government and Guidance of the Overseers and Employees, on the Plantations of Joseph A. S. Acklen . . .* (New Orleans, 1861). A copy of this pamphlet was lent the writer by Mr. Elrie Robinson of St. Francisville, Louisiana.

⁸⁸ 7 La. Ann. 395 (1852).

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and Franklin's plan for perpetuating his name through an institution of learning was thwarted. A dissenting justice observed, however, that there was an element of altruism in the provision for the education of the indigent as well as the wellborn.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

PART TWO

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

INTRODUCTION

The following documents illustrate the creation, extent, and disposition of Franklin's Louisiana estate, the size and deval of his Tennessee property, and the nature of his wealth in Mississippi and Texas. Reading between the lines of the dusty court records, one can visualize a successful slave trader who sought to expand his planting interests; a West Feliciana planter, Francis Routh, whose financial collapse as a result of overexpansion and the Panic of 1837 gave Franklin opportunity to invest his slave trading profits in one of the most fertile and advantageously located parcels of land in the Lower Mississippi Valley; the improvement and development of lands which had hitherto been inefficiently exploited; lands and stock and implements and slaves mobilized into plantations; and attempts of appraisers to evaluate their worth after the planter's demise.

If further reason is needed for the publication of such documents, it may be suggested that those who have not hitherto appreciated the wealth of historical material available in court records may be inspired to search them for invaluable data on countless subjects. The priceless materials unearthed and catalogued by the Federal Archives and Historical Records surveys are unimpeachable evidence that courthouses, whether federal, state, or local, are repositories that will provide historians with grist for years to come.

Although Franklin was regarded as a millionaire by

many of his contemporaries, appraisers of his estate valued his property at about three quarters of a million dollars. This sum was probably less than the actual market value of his holdings. It should be noted, however, that prime male field hands on the Louisiana plantations, which had been purchased in 1848 for \$800 or less, were inventoried two years later at \$900. The difference approximated the general rise in slave prices in the interim. Both figures are substantially less than those indicated by Phillips' slave price graph.

As bills of sale seldom record the prices of infants and other young children separately, appraisals of slave property are particularly valuable in helping to establish their worth. With the exception of a mulatto infant Willis, listed at \$150, slaves one year old or less on the Louisiana plantations were appraised at \$100 in 1850. Two-year-old slaves of both sexes were set down at \$150 to \$200; those three years of age at \$200 to \$250. Prices were fairly constant for several ages from four on. Children from four to eight were evaluated at \$300 to \$400; those from nine to thirteen at \$400 to \$500. Boys fourteen to eighteen ranged from \$600 to \$800, and men from nineteen to forty were steady at \$900. There were few girls in the early teens; a half dozen of fourteen years were valued at \$500 to \$600. Females reached the dominant price of \$700 at the age of sixteen and continued at that figure to the end of the thirties. Although a few hands maintained the dominant prices of \$900 and \$700 past forty, a general decline set in. Only two slaves, however, were valued at "nothing": Susan aged thirty-four, and Charity, sixty-four. Among the skilled slaves, males were usually listed at \$1,200 or \$1,500; females at \$800 or \$900.

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The text of the documents follows the printed succession record, where available, rather than the manuscript source since the former expanded abbreviations and rationalized punctuation and capitalization. The printed version has been carefully checked against the original, however, and wherever variations appeared, the printed record was corrected. No attempt has been made to rectify mathematical discrepancies, a few of which crept into both sets of records.

1. PURCHASE OF HALF INTEREST IN FRANCIS ROUTH'S
WEST FELICIANA PARISH PROPERTY

MAY 27, 1835¹

State of Louisiana }
Parish of Concordia } S. S.

Be it remembered that on . . . [May 27, 1835]. Before me George H. Keeton a Notary public in and for the said parish and State at Vidalia . . . personally came and appeared Francis Routh of the Parish of West Feliciana . . . who declared . . . that for the consideration hereinafter mentioned . . . he hath . . . conveyed . . . unto Isaac Franklin of the Parish of Orleans . . . one undivided half of all the following mentioned and described property to wit:—First a certain tract . . . of land lying . . . in the said Parish of West Feliciana . . . and bounded as follows to wit: in front by the Mississippi River at a Cotton wood on the bank . . . a corner of land formerly owned by Saml Wim-bish and now owned by the said Francis Routh, . . . thence in a direct line, between the said tract of Wimbish, to a hackbury, thence with a line of marked trees South to an ash, a corner in a Swamp, thence the back line along a marked line, to a corner of the present tract on the line of the old Olivia tract now owned by the Said Francis Routh, thence to an ash, thence down the Olivia line, North to the Mississippi River to a State [Stake] a little below the dwelling house thence up the River to the begining containing Six hundred arpens. . . . *Second* These Several pieces . . . of land adjoining each other containing in all two thousand Eight hundred and twelve & $\frac{1}{4}$ arpens more or less, it being the same land purchased by the said Routh from Ira Smith and wife by deed bearing date . . . [April 13, 1835] and adjoining the above mentioned Six hundred arpens tract on the East. Third, a tract of land on the Mississippi River Containing four hundred

¹ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836–1839), 28–32. The act was recorded on February 17, 1836.

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and twenty three acres more or less bounded on the north by the first of the above mentioned tracts, and being the same land which was purchased by the said Routh, from Cyrus Ratliff . . . [May 8, 1827]. *Fourth*, a tract of six hundred and forty acres of land it being a donation from the United States to Cyrus Ratliff . . . and purchased by the said Routh of the said Ratliff by deed bearing date . . . [August 29, 1826]; bounded on the North by the Said first mentioned tract. *Fifth* a tract containing nine hundred arpens, more or less, fronting on the Lake of the Cross, and adjoining the last of the above mentioned on the west Side, the undivided half of which was purchased by the Said Routh at a Probate Sale of the Estate of William B Lane . . . [March 23, 1826], and the other half demid to the Said Routh in virtue of his marriage with his wife Mary H. Lane. *Sixth* a tract of Land containing three hundred and fifty acres (more or less) adjoining the last mentioned tract on the west, it being the same land which was purchased by the Said Routh at a Probate Sale of the Succession of Robert Russell . . . [January 2, 1828]. *Seventh*. A certain tract of Land containing four hundred and twenty two arpens—more or less fronting on the Mississippi River and between the above named tract purchased from Bennett Barrow and the one purchased from Cyrus Ratliff it being the same tract which was purchased by the Said Routh, from John Traversas . . . [December 21, 1832]. *Eighth* a tract containing Six hundred and forty acres bounded on the north and East by the first of the above named tracts and on the west by the last mentioned tract being the same tract which was purchased, by the Said Routh from Bennett J. Barrow . . . [in 1835]. *Ninth* a tract of land containing Six hundred and forty acres more or less, bounded on the north and west by the last mentioned tract in front by the River Mississippi, it being the same land which was purchased by the Said Routh . . . [March 4, 1835]. *Tenth* a tract of land containing two hundred and fifty arpens fronting on the Mississippi River and adjoining the first of the above mentioned tracts, it being the Same land which was purchased by the said Routh from Samuel Wimbish . . . [October 2, 1826]. *Eleventh* and last a tract containing Eight hundred acres of land, fronting on the Mississippi River, and bounded on the North by lands of Doctor Carmichael and on the South by Row's Bayou and on the East by lands of the

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Said Doctor Carmichael, it being the same tract which was purchased by the Said Routh . . . [December 26, 1834], all of which Said lands (Except) the last mentioned tract lies adjoining each other, about nine miles below Fort Adams on the East Bank of the Mississippi River, in the Said Parish of West Feliciana . . . and containing in the whole the quantity of Seven Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Seven acres, be the same more or less—and bounded on the north by lands owned by Doctor Carmichael South by lands of F. Thompson and the Mississippi River, East by lands of Mrs. Rawlings and West by the Mississippi River, also the following named negroes—to wit. *Jane Thomas* and child, *Sarah Lee* and her child, *Suckey Tucker* and her three children, *Caroline Collins* and her child, *Eliza Johnson* and her child, *Daphny Marshall* & her three children, *Sylvia Nichols* and her child, *Mary Butler* and her child, *Stephen Bennaugh*, *Jesse Biddle*, *John Ford*, *Martha*, *Violet Smith*, *Mary Louisa*, *Matilda Fletcher*, *Ellen Smallevesra*, *Ellen Roane*, *Adeline Blair*, *Emily*, *Lydia*, *Taylor*, *Martha*, *Winchester*, *Harriet Johnson*, *Emily Beadle*, *Ben Smith*, *Mary Ann*, *Matty* an orphan child, *Andrew* and *Andrew*, *Mike Craig* nine years old, *Clarissa Watson* fourteen years old, *Emmeline* ten years, *Nace Swan* twelve years old, *John Burch* eleven years old, *Jacob Craig* thirteen years old, *Jane Craig* Eleven years old, *Aggy Craig*—forty Five years old, *Winny Smith*, *Mahala White*, *Matilda Smith*, *Amanda Cary*, *Sally Bassit*, *Kitty Johnson*, *Peggy French*, *Mary Webb*, *Sally Cugar*, *Aggy Neale*, *Elvira White*, *Sally Scott*, *Ann Williams*—*Ann Williams*, *Sylvia*, *Clarissa*, *Clarke*, *Rachael Stewart*, *Eliza*, *Harris*, *Betsy Swan*, *Nancy Sharpe*, *George Johnson*, *George Reader*, *Randal Jones*, *Charlestown*, *Isaac*, *Gustine*, *Tom Crawly*, *Henry Tucker*, *Reason Johnson*, *Jacob Crawley*, *Gilbert Calwell*, *Spencer Price* [Price], *Bill Lee*, *Fil Evans*—*Levi Gustine*, *Allen*, *Dorsey*, *Ben Duncan*, *Fill Honara*, *Antram Taylor*, *Claiborne*, *Nicholson*, *Zachariah*, *Cora*, *Henry Williams*, *Clarke Butler*, *Austin Wilson*, *Daniel French*, *Fill*, *Peter*, *Joseph Neal*, *Polly Sutton* & child, *Alfred*, *Sally Webb*, *Mary Fairfax*, & child, *Cynthia*, *Ned Webb*, *Ann Gustine*, *Penny Gustine*, *Joshua Lewis*, *Ambrose Fidler*, *Charles Cooke*, *John Theodore*, *Nelly Stewart*, *Henry Gustine*, *Mary Lewis* and two children, *Peter*, *Ambrose*, *Mary*, *Edmond Williams*, *John Alston*, *William Diggs*, *Moses*, *Robertson*, *Abraham Lewis*, *Jenny White*, *Abraham Wil-*

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kins, Arthur Gustus, Henry Williams, Benson Lewis, Smith Johnson, Bulger Price, Joe Price, William Gunt, Henry Dent, William Joice, Jessy Carvin, Peggy Gribbs, Hannah Routh, Sophia Starke, Halda Gustine, and child Moses, Peggy Mayo, Maria Moore, Nancy Haskisson, Susan Rolan, Caroline Johnson, Diana Jenkins, Charlotte White, Sarah Gibbs, Henry Hawkins, Maria Walton, Emily Taylor, & child Sophia, Emily Long, Sara Chapman, Tom Beatle, Phil Green, Hannah, Phillis Beatle, Beccy & three children—Sara, Alfred and Dealia, Jinny and Five children, Perine, Lydia, Albert, Louisa and Calvin, Betsy & child, Matilda, Jenny & child, Stephen Scipio vest, Harry Cotter, Mary, Harper, Ellen & Child Rosetta, Suckey 45 years old, Nelson, Jane Harbor and two children, Emiline, Caroline, Thompson, Jenny Fidda and Child, Malinda, Jane Perryton, Henry Johnson, Emiline, Susan also the following named Eighteen . . . negroes, which the Said Routh is privileged to take out of this sale when he replaces the same number . . . [with] others of equal value—To wit: Marke, Jesse, Edmondson, Orange, Viney and child, Sam, Diana & child, Ned, Judy, Ellen, Nathan, Jenny, Suckey, Dick, Winny Daniel, Parrot, Dick and Amos, also all the stock of horses, mules cattle sheep & hogs, & all the work oxen & farming utensils & mechanics tools of every description Now on the Said lands & thereunto belonging, together with the improvements on the Same. . . . And the Said Francis Routh obligates & binds himself to have released all mortgages, liens . . . or incumbrances which now Exist against the said property within two years from this date—and he further obligates himself to release the Said Franklin from any & all damages which he may suffer on account of the Said Rouths failing to have the Said mortgages liens or encumbrances released at the time aforesaid.

Now the consideration of this sale is as follows—namely the sum of . . . [\$150,000] paid & secured to be paid as follows, to wit: the Sum of . . . [\$106,960.76] Cash in hand paid by the said Isaac Franklin to the said Francis Routh, the receipts of which is hereby acknowledged, and the further sum of . . . [\$43,039.24] secured to be paid by the promissory Note of the said Isaac Franklin of even date herewith Drawn in favor of Franklin Bullard [Ballard] & Company or order by whom it is Endorsed to become due . . . [March 1, 1836] payable and negotiable at the Bank of

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Louisiana in the City of New Orleans. . . . And at the Same time personally came & appeared Mary H. Lane wife of the Said Francis Routh who declared . . . that in becoming a party to these presents she is fully aware of the rights of mortgages, which by the Laws of the State of Louisiana, a wife has upon the property of her husband or of the community of acquets and gains; And that she approves this sale made by her said husband, and wishes to renounce in favor of the said Isaac Franklin all the rights of mortgage which she may have upon the property hereby Sold and Conveyed. . . .²

² The signatures, including those of two witnesses, Jesse Guier and Silas Sillard, and the notary's certification, have been deleted.

2. ACT OF COPARTNERSHIP BETWEEN FRANKLIN AND ROUTH, MAY 29, 1835¹

Articles of agreement and co-partnership made and concluded . . . [May 29, 1835] between Isaac Franklin, of the parish of Orleans and State of Louisiana, and Francis Routh, of the parish of West Feliciana. . . . The said Isaac Franklin and Routh do by these presents agree to become co-partners in the business of planting upon the several parcels or plantations of land situated in said parish of West Feliciana, containing seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven acres, more or less, with the two hundred and five negro slaves upon said plantation, and also the stock of horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, farming utensils, work tools, and other personal chattels upon or belonging to said plantation . . . [described in detail in the notarial act of May 27, 1835].

2d. This co-partnership shall commence this [29th] day . . . of May, A D, 1835, and continue until the first day of March, A D, 1840, and shall be conducted under and known by the name and style of Franklin and Routh.

3d. The said parties mutually agree, that the said co-partnership name shall be used only, by said co-partners, in the ordinary and necessary business of said co-partnership planting establishment; and the co-partnership name and firm shall be bound only for the necessary expenses of conducting said co-partnership business, and neither partner shall be able to bind the other partner to any greater extent.

4th. It is further mutually agreed by and between said parties, that said Francis Routh shall give his personal attention to the direction and superintendence of said co-partnership plantation and its concerns, for the best advantage of both co-partners, without any choice for such attention on his part. The power, however, of each, in the superintendence and contract [control] of said

¹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 471-74; West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 263-64.

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plantation and its concerns, to be equal in all respects, when the said Isaac Franklin may choose to give his personal attention to the direction of said plantation and its concerns.

5th It is further mutually agreed, that the said Francis Routh shall keep an account of all the current annual expenses of said plantation and partnership business, and the crops of cotton raised upon said plantation, and any other crops raised thereon, and for sale, shall be sold annually by said co-partners, on some merchant or mercantile house selected by them, to whom the crops shall be annually sent for that purpose; and after defraying and paying off, out of the proceeds of said crops, all the current and necessary expenses of the said plantation and co-partnership business, the nett proceeds shall be thereupon annually divided at a convenient time between the said co-partners, respective executors or administrators, share and share alike.

6th. The said co-partners do further agree, that neither of them . . . shall convey . . . or in any manner dispose of his undivided half of said plantation of land, negro slaves and movable property, held in co-partnership aforesaid, or any part thereof, during the continuance of this said co-partnership, for the period aforesaid, unless with the express agreement and consent of the other co-partner thereto, in writing. And the said Francis Routh binds himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, that he will, without delay, release and disencumber said plantation of lands and negroes, from any and all liens and incumbrances of any description, should any exist upon the same at the date of these presents.

7. It is further agreed between said co-partners, at the expiration of said term of co-partnership (unless said co-partners should then agree, in writing, for the said co-partnership from and after that time,) said plantation, and all the movable and immovable and personal property, then owned in co-partnership by said co-partners, under and in pursuance of these articles of co-partnership, shall be sold or divided upon such terms or in such manner as said co-partners shall agree upon at that time, in writing, the rights, interests and share of each being equal; but if the said co-partners should not then agree, in writing, upon the terms and manner of a sale or division of said property, then the whole of said co-partnership property, existing at the termination of said co-partnership as aforesaid, shall be exposed to sale at public auc-

tion upon the premises, after four weeks previous notice of the sale in some newspaper printed at the time in said parish of West Feliciana, and sold to the highest bidder upon a credit of one, two or three years, the purchaser executing notes with approved personal security, and a mortgage upon the property, to secure the payment of the purchase money; the said co-partners making and passing, at the same time, complete conveyances, each for his undivided half of said co-partnership property, and the said notes taken in payment of the purchase money, with the mortgage or mortgages to be thereupon equally divided between the said Isaac Franklin and Francis Routh, their respective executors or administrators.

8. It is further mutually agreed between said co-partners, that, in the event of either of them dying during the period of this co-partnership, as already mentioned, the same shall not be ther[e]by dissolved, but shall continue until the said first of March, A. D. 1840; and that, for that purpose, the executor, administrator, or legal representatives of said deceased partner shall become the co-partner in his stead, representing him, his rights and interests in every respect, under this agreement of co-partnership, in the same manner as said deceased partner would or could do by virtue of these presents.²

² The signatures of the contracting parties, together with those of J. T. McMurran and John Fletcher, witnesses, have been deleted.

3. PURCHASE OF PART OF ROUTH'S HALF OF WEST
FELICIANA ESTATE AT SHERIFF'S SALE
DECEMBER 22, 1837 ¹

State of Louisiana }
Parish of West Feliciana } Whereas I, John Parkison, Sheriff
of the Parish aforesaid, by virtue of an order of seizure & sale to
me directed from the Honorable the Third District Court, at the
suit of A Fisk & al vs. Francis Routh & al. N^o 1745, did seize on the
22^d day of Dec^r 1837, (together with other property) the following:
One Tract of Land, all in one Body, containing about Three
Thousand Six hundred acres, on the East Bank of the River Mis-
sissippi, bounded on the North by Lands owned by the late Jn F.
Carmichael dec^d, on the South by public lands, East by lands
owned by the late Lucy Perry dec^d, now by Routh & Franklin and
West by the Mississippi River;—Also the following thirty five
Slaves: Big Andy, Peggy his wife, Joshua, Nancy, Harry, Suckey
& her three children, David, Herter & George, Big Abe, Adam,
Sally, Joe, Clark, Clarissa, Big Phil, Aggy, Adella & her child,—
Jake, Sam, Sylvia, Mike, Little Abe or Sheldon, Elsey, Little Phil,
Antrem, Nicey, Peter, Little Andrew, Diana, Wallace, Lean & in
part, Frances & Malinda.—The property of Defendant, and having
exposed the same to public sale according to Law Isaac Franklin
became the purchaser thereof, for the price & sum of . . . [\$72,-
500].—By the Parish Judge's Certificate of mortgages . . . , a mort-
gage in favor of the Estate of Ro Russell, dated 2^d Jany 1828; for
the sum of \$1625 . . . , a mortgage in favor of A Fisk & C^o for
\$12,750, of date 17th March 1832; given on the property this day
sold;—Also a Bond in favor of the Parish Judge for the faithful ad-
ministration of the Estate of Sam^l Barker dec^d for the sum of
\$8,500,—of date the 28th Oct^r 1828, and a renewal of said Fr.
Routh's Bond for \$9,000.—21st June 1830;—Also a mortgage on
the same property, as before specified above in favor of A. Fisk &

¹ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 355-56.

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

C^o for the sum of \$40,000.—of date 16th March 1832 a mortgage in favor of the N. O. Canal & Banking Company for the sum of \$10,000, dated 28th April 1835; . . . a mortgage in favor of Isaac Franklin for the sum of \$81,985 18/100, of date 9th Dec^r 1836.—

Now therefore, Know all men by these presents, that I, the said Sheriff, do in consideration of the premises, and by virtue of the act in such case made & provided, grant, bargain, sell, assign & set over, to the said Isaac Franklin, his heirs & assigns, all the above described Land & Slaves, and all the right, title, interest, or demand, which the said Francis Routh had thereto on the 22^d day of Dec^r A D. 1837, [h]as at any time since had in or to the said property, or any part thereof, to hold the same to the said Isaac Franklin, his heirs & assigns forever.²

² This act was sealed in the presence of William L. Sheldon and L. W. Low, witnesses, on February 12, certified on February 20, and recorded on March 5, 1838. Signatures, certification, etc., have been deleted.

4. PURCHASE OF BALANCE OF ROUTH'S HALF OF WEST
FELICIANA ESTATE AT SHERIFF'S SALE
JANUARY 17, 1838¹

State of Louisiana

Parish of West Feliciana } Whereas I John Parkison, Sheriff
of the Parish aforesaid, by virtue of a writ of fi. fa. to me directed
from the Honorable District Court for the City & Parish of New
Orleans, at the suit of Kelly, Mason & C^o, did seize on the 17th
Jany 1838, all the interest of Francis Routh in & to all the property
owned in Copartnership between said Francis Routh, & Mr. Isaac
Franklin, consisting of Lands, Slaves, & personal property—For
particulars *see* a Copy of the Inventory & appraisement of the
whole property, owned by the said Franklin & Routh hereto at-
tached, to shew the property, owned between them, and in & to
what property the entire interest of defendant Francis Routh was
seized, and this day sold, as the property of defendant, & having
exposed the same to public Sale according to Law, Isaac Franklin
became the purchaser thereof for the price & sum of Three Hun-
dred & fifty Dollars Cash, over & above the following Mortgages,
which are recorded before the Plaintiffs Judgment, and which said
Franklin is bound to pay, viz:—By the Parish Judge's Certificate of
mortgage, which was read to the Bidders, there appears to be—
1st . . . a mortgage in favor of the Estate of Robert Russel, dated
2^d Jany 1828, for the sum of . . . [\$1,625] on a Tract of Land in
the name of Robt Russell.—2^d . . . a Bond for the faithful ad-
ministration of the Estate of Samuel Bacher, for the sum of . . .
[\$9,000], dated 16th Febry 1830.—3^d . . . two mortgages in favor
of A Fisk & C^o, one dated 16th March 1832, for the sum of . . .
[\$40,000], and the other dated 17th March 1832, for the sum of
. . . [\$12,750].—4th . . . A mortgage in favor of the New Orleans
Canal & Banking C^o dated 28th April 1835, for the sum of . . .
[\$10,000]. a mortgage in favor of Isaac Franklin dated 9th Dec^r

¹ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836–1839), 367–69.

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

1836, for the sum of . . . [\$81,985.18]. 6th . . . a mortgage or Judgment . . . in favor of L. W. Oakey & C^o dated 30th May 1833, for the sum of . . . [\$515.37], with five per cent interest thereon from the 20th day of May 1833.—7th . . . a mortgage in favor of Bullard Franklin [Ballard, Franklin] & C^o dated 9th Dec^r 1836, for the sum of . . . [\$52,416.21], as appears by certificate of the Keeper of mortgages of date 8th May 1837; and 23^d day of Febr'y 1838.—And also in the Certificate of the 23^d Febr'y 1838, there appears to be the following Judgments & mortgages recorded against said property, all of subsequent date after the Judgment & mortgages of the said Plaintiffs Kelly Mason & C^o to wit: . . . a Judgment in favor of Davis & Barrow, dated 9th May 1837, for the Sum of . . . [\$675.93].—2^d a Judgment in favor of Taylor & Cotheal dated 9th May 1837, for the sum of . . . [\$368.85].—3^d A Judgment in favor of Jas. Fair & Brisbane Marshall, dated 9th May 1837; for the sum of . . . [\$2,600].—4th a Judgment in favor of Holmes & Marshall, dated 9th May 1837, for the sum of . . . [\$4,000].—5th a Judgment in favor of Holmes & Dunbar, dated 9th May 1837; for the sum of . . . [\$3,000].—6th a Judgment in favor of Grevot & Page dated 9th May 1837, for the sum of . . . [\$2,000].—7th a Judgment in favor of B. Marshall dated 9th May 1837, for the sum of . . . [\$2,031.33].—8th A Judgment in favor of K. Dunbar & C^o dated 9th May 1837, for the sum of . . . [\$3,288.69].—9th A Judgment in favor of Samuel Lake & C^o, dated 9th May 1837 for the sum of . . . [\$5,759.51].—And 10th a Judgment in favor of George Green & al. dated 9th May 1837, for the sum of . . . [\$24,136.28].

Now Therefore Know all men by these presents, that I, the said Sheriff, do in consideration of the Premises, and by virtue of the act in such case made & provided, grant . . . to the said Isaac Franklin . . . all the above described Lands, Slaves & moveable property, and all the right, title, interest or demand, which the said Francis Routh on the 17th day of Jany AD. 1838, has or at any time since had in or to the said property, or any part thereof, to hold the same to the said Isaac Franklin, his heirs & assigns for ever.—²

² This act was sealed in the presence of James Leake and P. Butler, witnesses, on February 26, and recorded on March 7, 1838. Signatures, etc., have been deleted.

5. INVENTORY OF FRANKLIN AND ROUTH'S COPART-
 NERSHIP PROPERTY, FEBRUARY 26, 1838¹

Inventory & appraisement of the Property held in Copartner-
 ship between M^r Isaac Franclin & M^r Francis Routh, under the
 Copartnership name & firm of Franklin & Routh for the purpose
 of Planting Corn & Cotton, and such other things as is customary
 & necessary on Cotton Plantations; The property situated & being
 in the Parish of West Feliciana, State of Louisiana.—the right, title
 & interest of the undivided half of all of said property seized in
 the suit of Kelly Mason & C^o vs. said Francis Routh on a fi. fa.
 issued on the Judgment recovered in favor of said Kelly Mason &
 C^o versus said Francis Routh in the first judicial District Court,
 City & Parish of New-Orleans, and all of the right, title & interest
 of said F. Routh in & to all the property held in said Copartner-
 ship, and all of the rights of said Routh in said Copartnership sub-
 ject to the mortgages, privileges & Liens against said property of
 anterior date to the Judgment of said Kelly Mason & C^o this 26th
 day of Febry 1838, to be sold under said Judgment of Kelly Mason
 & C^o on the premises in conformity with the advertisements duly
 made, when M^r Tho^s H. Montgomery & D^r Ezekiel Varney were
 selected by the Plaintiffs & Defendant to make the appraisement
 of all of said property, who after being sworn according to Law,
 proceeded to make the following Estimate & appraisement of all
 of said property:—viz:—

1. The Tract of Land or Plantation purchased of
 D^r Ira Smith & wife, containing Two Thousand three
 hundred & seventy two Acres more or less, valued at the
 sum of Twenty two Thousand Eight hundred Dollars \$22,800.00
2. The Tract of Land or Plantation purchased at the
 Probate Sale of the Succession of Kenyon F Kendrick,
 containing Eight hundred acres more or less, valued at
 the sum of Five Thousand Six hundred Dollars 5,600.00

¹ West Feliciana Parish Notarial Record, F (1836-1839), 369-74.

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3. The Tract of Land or Plantation purchased from W^m Justice, containing Six hundred & forty acres more or less: valued at the sum of Three Thousand two hundred Dollars 3,200.00

4. The following *Slaves* on the Plantations held in Copartnership to wit:—

1. Ellen Trees & child Row	valued at	\$600.00
2. Jefferson Reed	"	700.00
3. Scipio Vaut	"	400.00
4. Horatio	"	650.00
5. Henry Colwell	"	700.00
6. James Hines	"	650.00
7. Daniel Sims	"	650.00
8. Harry Cotton	"	300.00
9. Henry Adams	"	750.00
10. Harry Johnson	"	650.00
11. Charles Blake	"	700.00
12. George Reid	"	600.00
13. Nelson Nash	"	500.00
14. Dick Lee	"	450.00
15. Thomas Jefferson	"	350.00
16. Robert Dorsey	"	600.00
17. Burrell White	"	600.00
18. Salle Cotton	"	400.00
19. Jane Harbour	"	350.00
20. Emeline Woolfolk	"	400.00
21. Catherine, a child one year old	"	100.00
22. Becky Gibbs	"	500.00
23. Alfred	"	250.00
24. Delia	"	100.00
25. Malinda Weeks	"	500.00
26. Lydia Odum	"	400.00
27. Becky Odum	"	250.00
28. Matilda	"	200.00
29. Fanny	"	100.00
30. Margaret Taylor	"	500.00
31. Patrick Reid, at present sick	"	300.00
32. Alfred	"	300.00
33. Dennis	"	250.00

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34. Jane Burch	valued at	450.00
35. Stephen	"	200.00
36. Jane Odum	"	300.00
37. Albert	"	250.00
38. Louisa	"	200.00
39. Caroline	"	150.00
40. Jenny Lidy	"	400.00
41. Caroline Stevenson	"	500.00
42. Pennine Odum	"	500.00
43. Lucky	"	250.00
44. Mary Harbour	"	500.00
45. Alexander or Aleck	"	100.00
46. Jane Ferry	"	200.00
47. Giles Stevenson	"	600.00
		<hr/>
		\$50,950.00

The above Slaves work & are placed on the Plantation called Lock Lomond, the Plantation purchased from Dr Ira Smith & wife. —Stock of Cattle, Hogs, Horses, Farming Utensils & Household & Kitchen furniture at Lock Lomond valued and estimated at the sum of Fourteen hundred & seventy Dollars 1,470.00

\$52,420.00

5. The following Slaves & personal property situated & being at the Plantation called Killarney.

1. Mary Fairfax	valued at	\$400.00
2. Phillis	"	300.00
3. Harriet	"	600.00
4. Tom	"	350.00
5. Chat	"	300.00
6. Sophia Selby	"	500.00
7. Caroline Robinson	"	500.00
8. Mary Lewis	"	200.00
9. Holdy Hines	"	500.00
10. Moses her child	"	100.00
11. William Garrett	"	600.00
12. Harvey Deut	"	300.00
13. Warner Brown	"	500.00
14. Smith Johnson	"	600.00

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15. Hezekiah	valued at	650.00
16. George Mason	"	600.00
17. Henry Williams	"	700.00
18. Joe Price	"	500.00
19. Garrison Selby	"	600.00
20. Charlotte and		
21. child Jerry	"	600.00
22. Louisa her child	"	150.00
23. Susan Harris	"	500.00
24. Henry Harris	"	600.00
25. Andrew Lancaster	"	500.00
26. Anna Guity	"	450.00
27. Moses Robinson	"	700.00
28. Ned Williams	"	600.00
29. Arthur Cotton	"	700.00
30. John Austen	"	400.00
31. Bill Deys	"	600.00
32. Nancy Deys	"	500.00
33. Jerry	"	400.00
34. Norman Price	"	500.00
35. Vincent Lewis	"	600.00
36. Emily Gibbs	"	450.00
37. Hannah	"	200.00
38. Mary Webb	"	400.00
39. Maria Moore	"	400.00
40. Sarah Gibbs	"	350.00
41. Cynthia Butler	"	450.00
42. Nelly Jarden	"	200.00
43. Polly Williams	"	450.00
		<hr/>
		\$71,920.00

Oxen, ox-carts, Hogs, Horses & Mules, Farming
Utensils, Household Furniture &c, &c, on the Killarney
Plantation, valued at the sum of Sixteen hundred &
fifty Dollars

1,650.00

\$73,570.00

6. The following Slaves & personal property situated & being
on the Plantation called Belle View, viz:—

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1. John Theodore a carpenter	valued at	\$1,500.00
2. Jane his wife	"	300.00
3. Littleton her child	"	200.00
4. Isaac	"	700.00
5. Bill Lee	"	800.00
6. Dan French	"	750.00
7. Butler Clark	"	600.00
8. Allen	"	600.00
9. William Brown	"	650.00
10. Jackson	"	450.00
11. Bradley	"	600.00
12. Sam Morris	"	400.00
13. Sam Naylor	"	700.00
14. John Cook	"	600.00
15. George Johnson	"	500.00
16. George Reeder	"	650.00
17. George Carroll	"	550.00
18. Phil Green	"	450.00
19. Plato Goodwin	"	600.00
20. Henry Williams	"	600.00
21. Henry Hawkins	"	400.00
22. Hercules McGruder	"	650.00
23. Hamilton Plato	"	650.00
24. Jacob	"	300.00
25. Stephen	"	500.00
26. Nace	"	500.00
27. Salsbury 12 years	"	350.00
28. Little Ben 10	"	300.00
29. John Benton 10	"	350.00
30. John F. 10	"	300.00
31. Little George 10	"	300.00
32. Little William 12	"	350.00
33. Charles 10	"	300.00
34. Henry	"	600.00
35. Rachael	"	600.00
36. Sarah	"	500.00
37. Peggy French	"	550.00
38. Big Ann	"	500.00
39. Mahala	"	400.00

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40. Winney	valued at	550.00
41. Long Sally	"	500.00
42. Nelly	"	450.00
43. French her child	"	150.00
44. An infant child of Nelly	"	100.00
45. Kitty	"	500.00
46. Eliza	"	500.00
47. Avis	"	500.00
48. Amanda	"	500.00
49. Alvira	"	400.00
50. Eliza	"	500.00
51. Emily Williams	"	400.00
52. Mariah Johnson	"	500.00
53. Martha Harris	"	500.00
54. Mary Butler	"	500.00
55. Mary Anderson	"	450.00
56. Mary Anderson	"	450.00
57. Matilda	"	550.00
58. Harriet Thompson	"	550.00
59. Harriet	"	500.00
60. Hestor Ann	"	500.00
61. Caroline Selby	"	550.00
62. Cecillia Jordan	"	500.00
63. Crecy Butler	"	500.00
64. Betsy	"	350.00
65. Lucinda	"	450.00
66. Adeline	"	500.00
67. Ellen Rome	"	500.00
68. Ellen Small	"	500.00
69. Emily Beedle	"	450.00
70. Emeline	"	400.00
71. Harriet	"	400.00
72. Martha Winchester 12 years	"	350.00
73. John Hall	"	600.00
74. Martha Morris 12 years	"	350.00
75. Charlotte Martha 10 years	"	250.00
76. Sally Ann	"	500.00
77. Kitty Sprigs	"	400.00
78. Kitty Fairfax	"	350.00

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79. Violet 12 years	valued at	350.00
80. Jane	"	500.00
81. Amy 9 years old	"	250.00
82. Aunice 12	"	350.00
83. Routh Selby	"	500.00
84. Ary Selby	"	400.00
85. Emily Webb	"	500.00
86. Randall	"	800.00
87. Isum	"	800.00
88. Old Ned	"	250.00
89. Tom	"	500.00
90. Penny	"	250.00
91. Sully Crier	"	250.00
92. Gilbert	"	400.00
93. Patcey &		
94. child	"	650.00
95. Jane a house servant	"	600.00
96. Rezin	"	700.00
97. Austin	"	700.00
98. Thornton	"	600.00
99. Spencer	"	700.00
100. Claiborne a Blacksmith	"	1,000.00
101. Andrew Goodwin	"	700.00
102. Sully (Lame)	"	100.00
103. Ambrose	"	350.00
104. Sylvia	"	250.00
105. Aggy Craig	"	200.00
106. Charleston	"	400.00
107. Joe Neal	"	300.00
108. Old Charity	"	400.00
109. Jane 8 years	"	250.00
110. Little Ann	"	300.00
111. Martha a Mulatress	"	400.00
112. Jessy 14 years	"	400.00
113. Frank Brown	"	550.00
114. Carter, child of Mahala	"	100.00
115. An infant child of do	"	100.00
116. John Child of Maria Clark	"	150.00
117. Essex child of do	"	100.00

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118. Horatio child of Daphne	valued at	100.00
119. Edward child of do	"	100.00
120. An infant child of Martha Johnson	"	50.00
121. An infant child of Eliza Butler	"	50.00
122. Ascena, child of Big Ann	"	100.00
123. Agnes, child of Nelly	"	100.00
124. Franklin child of Nelly	"	100.00
125. Delilah, child of Eliza Johnson	"	100.00
126. Pricilla, child of Do	"	100.00
127. Kitty's child	"	100.00
128. Susan child of Harriet Thompson	"	100.00
129. Sully an orphan child	"	125.00
130. Adeline do	"	125.00
131. Walter do 7 years	"	200.00
132. Andrew do 5 —	"	100.00
133. Oliver Collins	"	150.00
134. Child of Winney 2 years	"	100.00

\$129,670.00

20 yoke oxen at \$50 pr yoke	1,000.00
400 head of Cattle more or less, at \$7 pr head	2,800.00
Hogs	100.00
3 ox-carts & yokes	180.00
32 Horses & mules at \$60 pr head	1,920.00
Out Houses estimated at \$500	500.00
Farming Utensils, Blacksmith Tools, Carpenter tools, sheep &c.	495.00
Household & kitchen furniture, Medicines &c.	500.00
Miscellaneous	150.00

\$137,315.00

7. The Traversos Tract of Land containing Three hundred & forty six acres more or less, val^d at \$ twelve Dollars pr acre is 4,272.00

8. The Tract of Land bought of Bennet I Barrow containing Six hundred & forty acres more or less val^d at Seven Dollars pr acre, is 4,480.00

9. 210 Bales of Cotton Ginned & Baled at \$32. pr Bale, and a Quantity of Seed-Cotton on the Planta-

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tions Lock Lomond & Belle View Estimated to make	
240 Bales of cleaned Cotton at \$28 pr Bale is in all	13,440.00
	<hr/>
	\$159,507.00

We, the appraisers aforesaid, do appraise the undivided Half of the property Inventoried above, and owned in Copartnership between Isaac Franklin & Francis Routh to be worth this day in Cash the sum of Seventy Nine Thousand Seven hundred & fifty three Dollars & fifty cents, it being the entire interest of said Francis Routh.— ²

² The inventory was recorded March 24, 1838. Signatures have been deleted.

6. ISAAC FRANKLIN'S WILL¹

In the name of God, Amen!

I, Isaac Franklin, of Sumner County, State of Tennessee, son of James and Mary Franklin, who are both deceased, a citizen of the United States of America, and now residing, for the present, on my estate in the parish of West Feliciana, and State of Louisiana, do make, ordain and declare this instrument, which I have caused to be written, from my own dictation, and which I subscribe with my proper name and signature, in the presence of five witnesses, residing in said parish of West Feliciana, to be my last will and testament, known by the laws of Louisiana as the nuncupative testament, under private signature; hereby revoking all others.

First. All my just debts are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies, usufructs and bequests hereinafter mentioned, are to be discharged and paid by my executors, at the time and in the manner directed, and as soon as circumstances will admit.

Item. To my dearly beloved wife, Adelia Hayes, the daughter of Oliver B. and Sarah O. Hayes, of Davidson County, State of Tennessee, I give and bequeath all the property, of whatever kind or nature, together with the increase of the same which has been, or may hereafter be given to, or inherited by her, from her said father, Oliver B. Hayes, to her and her heirs forever. I also give and bequeath to my said wife, my household and kitchen furniture, of every sort and kind, on my estate in Sumner County, State of Tennessee, known as my Fairvue plantation, with the stock of liquors, groceries and provisions which may be on hand on that estate or plantation, at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper. And I further give, devise and bequeath to my said wife, out of the revenues of my plantations in Louisiana and Tennessee, and the dividends of my bank

¹ The will is quoted from *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 486-500. It is also available in Sumner County Will Book, III (1842-1870), 79-87; Sumner County Deed Record, XXI (1848-1851), 210-17; West Feliciana Parish Probate Record Book, N (1844-1848), 340-46.

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stock and other interests coming to me, such sum or sums of money, annually, as may be found necessary to support her and my child, or children, by my marriage with my said wife, in the best style; and, also, to educate my said child, or children, in such manner as she may deem proper, during, and for the full term of time that she shall remain my widow. It is my desire and wish, that during the widowhood of my said wife, that she and my said child, or children, shall remain and reside upon my Fairvue plantation, in the County of Sumner, in the State of Tennessee aforesaid, and for that purpose, I hereby give her and them, the use and profit and full benefit of that estate, including the dwelling house, outhouses, buildings, fixtures, gardens, lands and improvements, slaves, cattle, horses, mules and other stock, personal property, &c., &c.; and, in case my said wife should marry again before my present child, Victoria, or any other children that I hereafter have by my marriage aforesaid, should arrive at the full age of majority, or lawfully marry, then it is my desire that my executors take possession of my said estate or plantation in Sumner County, Tennessee; together with the slaves, cattle, horses, mules, and other stock, personal property, &c., &c., and hereby constitute my said executors guardians of my child or children, and direct them to make provisions for the education and support of my said children, until they become of age, or marry. And, in lieu of the use of said estate, and said annual revenues, in the case of the second marriage of my said wife, either before my said child, or children, shall become of age, or marry, I give to my executors, in trust, for the separate use and maintenance of my wife, and any children that she may have by a second marriage, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be paid as follows, to wit: the sum of twenty thousand dollars within the year of the second marriage, and the residue in ten equal annual installments thereafter; or, at her election, the sum of six thousand dollars, annually, during her life, in lieu of the payment of said one hundred thousand dollars; and said sum of six thousand dollars, annually, to my said wife, during her said life, or the payment of said one hundred thousand dollars, shall be in full for all her rights of dower, or any other rights that she may have on my estate.

Item. To my daughter, Victoria, the only child born of my marriage with my said wife, up to the present time, and all such

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other of my children as may hereafter be born of said marriage, and the heirs of their bodies, I give and bequeath the following portion of my estate, to wit: in case there should be no other child born of said marriage, except my said daughter, Victoria, then I give and bequeath to her, and her heirs, the undivided one . . . third part of all my estate, real and personal, immovable and movable, rights and credits, situate, lying and being within the State of Louisiana; in case of another child born of said marriage, then I give and bequeath to my said daughter, Victoria, and the other child of said marriage, and their heirs, the undivided one-half of said property and estate in Louisiana, to be divided by them when they become of age, or marry, share and share alike, in equal portions; and in case of two or more children born of said marriage, besides my daughter, Victoria, then I give and bequeath to my said daughter, Victoria, and my said other children to be born of said marriage, and their heirs, the undivided two-thirds part of all my said property and estate in Louisiana, to be divided by them, when the youngest of my said children shall become of age or marry, share and share alike, in equal portions; and it is my desire and wish, that my said children shall aid and assist my executors and trustees in carrying into full effect, the intentions manifested by me in this will, and particularly, the establishment of the seminary on my estate in Tennessee; and the faithful payment and discharge of the sum devised to their mother, or the annual usufruct in lieu thereof.

Item. It is my wish and desire, after my death, and I so order and direct, that the whole of my estate, wherever situated, be placed in the hands of my executors hereinafter named; and, for that purpose, grant them, and the survivors of them, the seizin of all the property of my estate; and authorize them to take possession of the whole of my said estate, after my death, to be held and possessed by them for the following purposes, to wit: 1st. For the payment, as speedily as possible, of all my just debts. 2d. The placing my said wife in possession of all of the property and its increase, which has been given to or inherited by her from her father, Oliver B. Hayes; together with my household and kitchen furniture on my Fairvue estate, in Tennessee, with the liquors, groceries and provisions on that estate, which may be on hand at the time of my decease. 3d. To pay such annual sums of money to

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my wife, during her widowhood, out of the revenues of my plantations in Louisiana, the dividends of bank stock and interest on debt due, &c., as she may deem necessary, for the support of herself and my children, and their education in the best style of the country where she resided; leaving to her, the exclusive direction of the education of my children, and the expenditure of such annual allowance, during said widowhood, as she may deem proper. 4th. The placing of my said wife and children in full possession of all the property of my said plantation and estate, called Fairvue, in Sumner County, State of Tennessee, as a residence for and during the time she shall remain my widow, with the use and benefit, for said time, of the dwellinghouse, outhouses, buildings, fixtures, lands, gardens and improvements, and slaves belonging to said plantation, with the cattle, horses, mules, sheep and other stock, carriages, personal property, &c., &c. 5th. And in case of the second marriage of my said wife, in lieu of the sum of money she may consider necessary for the support of herself and his children, and their education, annually, during her widowhood, and the use of the property of the estate in Sumner County, State of Tennessee, to give her the sum of one hundred thousand dollars in trust, for the separate use and maintenance of her, and any children she may have by such second, or any subsequent marriage, to be paid, twenty thousand dollars in cash, within the year of marriage, and the residue in ten equal annual installments thereafter, or, at her election, the sum of six thousand dollars annually during her life; the payment of either, to be in full for her rights of dower or any other rights that she may have on my estate. 6th. In case of the second, or subsequent marriages of my said wife, to receive again into their possession, all the property of my said estate of Fairvue, in Sumner County, State of Tennessee, and the same to keep and possess, and the revenues thereof, for the purposes hereinafter named and particularly specified, which they are strictly to carry out; and, as guardians, in that case, of my said children, to educate them and support them, until the youngest of them becomes of age or marries; which education and support, I wish to be in a suitable and proper manner, and at such places as may be thought most advisable; at all times consulting and advising with their mother. 7th. For the purpose of increasing and improving my lands and plantations and estates, and particularly

the lands and plantations in the State of Louisiana; to cultivate on the three plantations already opened in Louisiana, corn and cotton, and such other crops as may be found profitable; adding to the Lochlmond plantation, twenty additional hands; to the Killarney plantation, twenty additional hands; and to open three new plantations on said lands in Louisiana, two of sixty hands, and the other of thirty hands, which are also to be cultivated in corn and cotton, and such other crops as may be found profitable, until my aforesaid children shall all of them arrive at the full age of majority or marry. When my said executors shall deliver up said plantations, lands, slaves, movable property and their increase, together with such other slaves, immovables and movables, with their increase, as may have been added to said lands and plantations in Louisiana, to my said children or their heirs, and the trustees hereinafter named, for the purpose of division between my said children and my said trustees, and to carry out the intentions of this, my will, the particulars of said improvements, purchases of hands or slaves, and the trusts hereafter to be particularly mentioned. 8th. The placing of the slaves Brutus, Fanny, his wife, Marcus, Georgiana, and any other house servants, not belonging to the Louisiana plantations, on the Fairvue plantation, Sumner County, State of Tennessee, as part of the domestic's establishment on that place. 9th. The payment of the legacies hereinafter mentioned; and 10th. The building of a tomb and family vault, hereinafter mentioned, on my said plantation, in Sumner County, Tennessee. 11th. And the placing of my trustees, hereinafter mentioned, in full possession, at the times designated, of all my property situated in the States of Tennessee and Mississippi, or any other common law State, where trust estates can be created, and of one-third, one-half, or two-thirds of all my movable and immovable property, effects and credits, as the case may be, by the birth of children, of my estate in Louisiana, together with all my bank stock and effects and credits, to be laid out in the establishment of a seminary or academy on my said plantation in Sumner County, State of Tennessee, as will be particularly designated and mentioned in this will, and my executors are particularly directed to lay out the balance of the revenues of my Louisiana plantations, my Tennessee plantations, the dividends of my bank stock, and interests on debts due me, over and above the annual expenditures

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which they have been heretofore directed to make in this will, from time to time, in the purchase of good, young, effective and healthy slaves, to be placed on said lands and plantations as they may be wanted; and in particular, to place twenty additional hands on my Lochlomond plantation, situated in the Parish of West Feliciana, and State of Louisiana, with such additional horses, mules, teams, ploughs, gearing, farming utensils, &c., &c., as may be found necessary to a successful and proper cultivation of that plantation; also, to place twenty additional hands on my Killarney plantation, adjoining said Lochlomond plantation, in said Parish of West Feliciana, with such additional horses, teams, mules, ploughs, gearing, farming utensils, &c., &c., as may be found necessary to a successful and proper cultivation of that plantation; and also to build on my lands in said parish, as soon as the same can conveniently be done with my own hands, three additional negro quarters or sets or clusters of houses, in the same style and plan as those on my other plantations, called Bellevue, Killarney, and Lochlomond; the aforesaid quarters to be built at the following places, to wit: one near the woodyard fronting on the Mississippi river, sufficient for sixty hands, to be called Angora plantation; another at or near Foreman's old fields, fronting, also, on the Mississippi river, sufficient for sixty hands, to be called the Loango plantation; and the other, above Row's Bayou, fronting on the Mississippi river, sufficient for thirty hands, to be called the Panola plantation. And my said executors are further directed, to erect, on each of said new plantations, suitable ginhouses, millhouses, stables, cornhouses, overseers' houses, outhouses, and other fixtures and improvements, with gins, millstones, gearing, &c., &c., in a good and substantial manner, with such approved gins, &c., as may be considered the best; the buildings, &c., to be as near as can be like those on my other plantations, Bellevue, Killarney, and Lochlomond; and they, of course, will furnish such horses, mules, oxen, teams, farming utensils, gearing, &c., &c., as may be wanted on each of my said new plantations; and for the purpose of carrying my intentions into full effect, I hereby authorize my said executors to purchase the aforesaid additional hands, or slaves, for my estate, from time (to time), as well as horses, mules, oxen, personal property, &c., for the use of said plantations; and if it should become necessary, by any decision of the courts of law, to have any

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

of my said lands, plantations, slaves, movables or immovables, or from any other cause, sold again to pay judgment creditors and privileged claims, or for any other purpose, I hereby expressly authorize my said executors, or the survivors of them, to purchase any such property for my estate; to secure the title or other interests, if it should be deemed advisable for my interest; I also authorize my said executors to sell and dispose of any refractory slaves, or those of little use or value, (except from old age) on either of my plantations in Louisiana or Tennessee, to dispose of and sell any surplus horses, cattle, sheep, hogs or other stock on either of those plantations, if they should deem the same advisable; and as my said executors, neither of them, reside in the State of Louisiana, and it will be very inconvenient for them, or either of them, to give their personal attention to my planting interest in that State, I hereby authorize them to employ a general agent to superintend the several plantations in Louisiana, with a reasonable and competent salary; and in the absence of the executors, that he be charged with the purchasing and furnishing supplies for those plantations; the shipping and direction of the sales of the crops, with authority to employ and discharge overseers and mechanics and workmen, as may be found necessary, giving, however, the executors full power and control over said agent.

Item. At my death, it is my desire that the slaves Brutus, Fanny, his wife, Marcus, Georgiana, and any other house servants not belonging to any of my plantations in said parish of West Feliciana, be removed to my Fairvue plantation, in the county of Sumner, and State of Tennessee, there to comprise a part of the domestic servants of that establishment, for the use of my wife and children, during her widowed, and after her second marriage, to remain on that plantation.

Item. There being no family vault on any of my plantations, it is my desire that a new one, of brick and stone, and upon a suitable scale, may be built on my said Fairvue plantation in Sumner county, State of Tennessee, in the most durable manner, on a spot of ground elevated in its position, having, in the whole, an area of at least one acre, with appropriate trees and shrubbery, to be planted out; the whole to be surrounded by a substantial stone fence, with a large front gate at the entrance; and it is my wish and desire, that my remains, and those of my wife and children,

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with such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited in said family vault; and it is my express desire, that my body may be interred there, in a plain, decent, and private manner, with only such Christian observances as my family may think proper; and, in case I should die at any other place, it is my wish and desire, that my body may be removed to be entombed in the aforesaid vault, as soon as the same can conveniently be done. It is, also, my desire, that my said executors, or my children, shall furnish suitable slabs or mementos for each member of my family who shall be entombed there, and cause the same to be placed in their proper places.

Item. After the aforesaid improvements are made on my said plantations, in the parish of West Feliciana and the State of Louisiana, it is my desire, that my said executors, or my said children, if they shall have become of age or marry, and placed in possession of their shares of my said property in Louisiana, should pay or cause to be paid out of all of the revenues of those plantations the portions of my said children, and my trustees hereinafter mentioned, each their respective *pro rata* proportions of the following legacies, to wit:

1. To Isaac Franklin Purvis, the son of my sister Margaret Franklin, and her husband, Allen Purvis, deceased, late of Sumner County, State of Tennessee, the sum of five thousand dollars.
2. To Isaac Franklin Wood, the son of my sister, Jane Franklin, the wife of John Wood, of the State of Missouri, the sum of five thousand dollars.
3. To Isaac Franklin Cantrel, the son of my neice [*sic*], Ma[r]y Franklin, the late wife of Zebulon Cantrel, of Sumner County aforesaid, two thousand dollars.
4. To Isaac Franklin Greene, the son of James Greene, of Sumner County aforesaid, one thousand dollars.
- And, 5. To my brothers, James and William Franklin, of Sumner County aforesaid, each the sum of five thousand dollars.

Item. I give and bequeath all my property, real and personal, of whatever kind or nature, that is situated in the States of Tennessee and Mississippi, or any other common law state where trust estates can be created, together with my bank stocks and effects and credits; and in case I should have no other children by my said marriage, except my said daughter Victoria, then, two-thirds of all my property, movable and immovable, that is situated in the State of Louisiana; but if there should be two children born of said marriage, then, only an undivided one-half of all my said

property, movable and immovable, slaves, &c., that is situated in said State of Louisiana; and if there should be three or more children born of said marriage, then, I only give an undivided one-third part of all my said property, movable and immovable, slaves, &c., that is situated, lying and being in said State of Louisiana; and also the rest and residue of my estate, wherever situated, in trust to my two brothers, James and William Franklin, of Sumner County aforesaid, for the following purposes, to wit: The revenues arising from said property, bank stock, and such money, funds, or credits due me, as may remain after the payment of the several legacies and devises, annuities, increase and ameliorations of my said plantations in Louisiana, and other purposes, as directed by this will, together with the revenues arising from my plantations in Tennessee, and other property in Tennessee and Mississippi, and other common law States, together with the dividends of my bank stock and interest on money and debts due me, and the revenues of the one-third, one-half, or two-thirds of all my property situated in the State of Louisiana, as the case may be, by the birth of children, of my said marriage, after the payment of said several devises and legacies, annuities and expenditures, increase and ameliorations of said plantations in Louisiana, &c., to be laid out in building proper and suitable edifices on my said Fairvue plantation in the County of Sumner and State of Tennessee, for an academy or seminary, the furnishing the same with fixtures and furniture, and the employment of such teachers and professors, male and female, as may be considered necessary by my said trustees, for the education, board, and clothing of the children of my brothers and sisters, and their descendants, as well as my own children, and their descendants, in the best and most suitable and proper manner for American youths, having a particular regard to a substantial and good English education, and such other higher and ornamental branches as the aforesaid revenues, &c., will enable my said trustees to accomplish; and if the revenues, &c., should be sufficient therefor, I also wish that the poor children in said County of Sumner, of unexceptionable character, and such as my said trustees may select, should likewise be educated and supported during the time at the same seminary; and after the death of my aforesaid brothers, it is my will and desire that the aforesaid trust shall be continued and pass over forever in the heirs of my said brothers, to pass the estate, and that the magistrates

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of the County Court of said County of Sumner and State of Tennessee, and their successors in office, be thereafter the perpetual superintendents of the aforesaid seminary, to see that my intentions be fully carried into effect. Lastly, I nominate, constitute and appoint my father-in-law, Oliver B. Hayes, and my brother, William Franklin, of the State of Tennessee, and John Armfield, of the city of Alexandria and District of Columbia, the husband of my neice, Martha R. Franklin, executors of this my last will and testament; and hereby give to them and the survivors of them full power and authority and seizin of all my estate—to receive and detain the property of the same, wherever situated, and the same to keep and administer, until the provisions of this will, under their administration, shall be carried into full and complete effect; and without the intervention of justice, except for the purpose of taking an inventory of the property and effects of my estate after my decease, and the probate and execution of the will, making them detainers of the property of my estate, and clothing them with the necessary authority to carry out the directions of the will.

In witness of all and each of the things herein contained, I have presented this will, containing fourteen pages, to the five witnesses under-written, who each and all of them reside in the parish of West Feliciana and State of Louisiana, where this will is made; and each of them signed their names thereto, and I declared to said witnesses that this paper, consisting of said fourteen pages, contains my last will, and then the same was read by one of the witnesses to the rest of the witnesses, in presence of me, said testator, and the whole of said witnesses; upon which, said will was signed by me and witnessed by all of said witnesses, the one after the other, without turning aside to any other matter or thing, completing the same at one time, this twenty-fourth day of May, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, at the parish of West Feliciana and State of Louisiana, aforesaid in the country—witnesses present.²

²The signatures of the parish judge, James J. Weems, which were appended at the end of each page of the manuscript record but which appear at irregular intervals in the printed record, have been deleted without indication. Signatures at the end of the document have also been omitted. The act was witnessed by Lewis Stirling, James L. Stirling, Lewis Stirling, Jr., W. B. Chamberlain, and John L. Lobdell.

7. INVENTORY OF ISAAC FRANKLIN'S PROPERTY
OTHER THAN THAT SITUATED IN LOUISIANA
SEPTEMBER 28, 1847¹

Inventory of the estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased, other than that situated in Louisiana, returned by his executors, in Sumner County, Tennessee, and appraised by said executors and William Franklin, in the presence of Lewis T. White and John F. Sander-son.

Slaves on the plantation in Sumner County:

Maria Gibbs, aged	32 years,	valued at \$450
Reno,	12	350
Louisiana,	9	250
Rachael,	6	200
Martin,	2	100
Bob Moton,	48	300
Eliza Moton,	30	350
Elias,	21	600
Celia Ann,	18	500
Lewis,	16	500
Lysa,	15	350
John Thomas,	13	300
Francis,	8	200
Milly,	3	100
Matilda,	1	50
Bill Jay, (bricklayer)	36	1000
Eliza Jay,	35	300
Cellar Jay,	17	500
Tom Jay,	14	450
Linda Jay,	10	300
Harry Chester,	42	300

¹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 699-708. The document was recorded May 26, 1848, in West Feliciana Parish Inventory Record, F (1845-1851), 295-300.

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Juda,	23 years,	valued at	500
Sarah Jane,	3		100
Laticia,	1		100
Elizabeth,	40		300
Edmund,	24		650
Washington,	12		450
Catharina,	8		300
Larinda,	6		250
Elizabeth,	3		100
William,	3 months		50
Big Henry,	32		700
Lee Ann,	25		500
Gwyn,	8		250
Ann,	5		150
Mattimore,	9		250
Latitia,	55		200
Nelson,	21		650
Barbary,	16		500
Joshua,	19		650
Hannah,	15		450
Ginge Lewis,	11		400
Richard,	7		250
Elijah,	4		150
Isaac,	49		300
Adeline,	35		350
Little Henry,	22		600
Louisa,	16		450
Julia,	14		400
Benetta,	8		250
Penny,	5		100
Izetta,	3		100
Angeline,	1		50
Rebecca,	8		50
Nathan,	26		650
Harriet Starling,	50		200
Robert,	22		600
Martha An,	19		50
Sally Jane,	17		500

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Penny Henry,	15	years,	valued at	500
Henrietta,	11			250
Georgietta,	5			200
Dennis,	26			700
Eveline,	19			500
Thorton,	20			600
Elenora,	2			100
Silas,	18			550
Edy,	50			200
Jeff,	46			300
Henrietta,	40			250
Betta,	15			400
Burrell,	19			400
Vaughan Reason,	9			400
William,	7			250
Edmonia,	4			200
Lawyer,	26			650
Maria Britton,	20			500
Sac,	4			100
Dianna,	2			50
Dick,	27			650
Margaret,	25			500
Kitty,	18			550
Lucy,	8			50
John Bevans,	26			650
Letha,	19			500
Rosetta,	16			150
Jinny,	14			500
Bazil,	2			100
William,	1			10
Nancy,	4			50
Mathison (blacksmith),	30			850
Nimrod,	25			550
Louisa,	20			500
Sarah Ann,	3			150
Abram,	30			550
Mary Starling,	28			450
Clark (brickmason,)	27			800

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Caroline,	20	years,	valued at	500
Shadrach,	1			100
John Baker	27			650
Betsy Baker,	20			500
Ruffin,	2			100
Charles Crocket,	21			650
Mary Crocket,	18			500
Ben Key,	35			500
Hannah,	35			450
Louisa,	18			550
Lucinda,	16			20
Hallary,	14			500
Francis,	7			200
Luke,	5			200
Jack,	2			100
David Impin,	40			400
Kitty,	38			200
Charles,	21			1
Albert,	18			550
Henderson,	16			500
Alexander,	14			500
Jane,	12			400
Jack,	8			300
Matt,	5			200
Dave,	4			100
John Jennings (carpenter,)	25			700
Ben Rutherford,	20			650
Tom Moring,	25			650
Emily,	40			450
Mary Jane,	15			500
Ben Gant,	16			500
Numa,	13			450
Farilda,	16			400
Luke,				300
Lucy, his wife,				200
Brutus,				700
Frances, his wife,				600
Lee,				700
Mark,				700

Warren,	5 years,	valued at 700
Stephen,		600

The above-mentioned slave was charged with attempting to take the life of the overseer, and was let off on condition of being sent out of the State. Luke was also charged with being accessory to that offence, and his whole family became refractory, so that it was necessary to send them away, and were put on the plantation in Louisiana: whereof, it was agreed between William Franklin, trustee of the academy fund, and the executors of Isaac Franklin, that said slaves, Luke and his family, shall remain on said estate in Louisiana, and be considered a part thereof, or they may be otherwise sold, as said executors may direct; and said executors shall account with William Franklin, as trustee aforesaid, for the value at which they have been appraised, to wit, forty-five hundred dollars. The slaves Betsey and her children, Harriet, James, Alexander, Joseph and Manda; Maria and her children, Ezekial and Mary Ann, which were originally given to Mrs. Franklin, by her father, and the household and kitchen furniture, of every kind and description, are not valued in the inventory—they being given to Mrs. Franklin by the last will of her husband.

31	Head of mules, at	\$80. each	\$2480
16	Head of blooded horses,		2250
26	do Work do, at	50	1300
276	do Sheep,	1	276
65	do Cattle,	8	520
270	do Killing hogs,	5	1350
230	do Other hogs,	2	460
1	Old carriage and harness		200
1	Barouche and do,		200
2	Wagons and do,		125
3	Ox carts, at	20	60
4	Yoke of oxen,	30	120
1	Baggage wagon,		75
1	Horse cart,		30

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2 Thrashing machines,		130
2 Fan mills,		10
1 Set of blacksmith's tools,		65
1 Do carpenter's do,		50
40 Ploughs and gears,	4	160
2 Large harrows,	5	10
6 Small do,	1	6
50 Weeding hoes,	25¢	12 50
10 Grubbing do,	25	2 50
4 Picks,	50	2
1 Large grind stone,		10
2 Spinning machines,	30	60
4 Spinning wheels,	1	4
4 Looms,	7	28
2 Dock reels,	1	2
2 Jacks,	250	500
5 Jennies,	50	250
Crowbar, sledge hammers and drill augers,		20
1 Pair balances,		25
20 Axes,	50	10
Corn sheller,		10
2 Cutters,		75
		<hr/> \$10,888

Mrs. Adelia Franklin being entitled to the use of the above mentioned property on the Fairvue plantation in Sumner County, during her widowhood, the same is left in her possession. The executors further return, under the will of the testator, the tract of land in Sumner County, constituting the Fairvue plantation, containing, as we suppose, 2000 acres, which, with the improvements, is valued at \$20 per acre, making the sum of \$40,000 00

Also, 60 shares of stock in the Nashville and Gallatin Turnpike Company, which cost \$50 per share, estimated at 300 00

Also, one-third of stock in stables, at the Nashville Race Course, 166 00

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They further make inventory of the lands in Texas:

1st. 22,141 and two-thirds acres of land on Matagorda bay, between Garcetas and Lorillo creeks, being 5 leagues,

2d. Half a league of land on Garcetas and Mucans creeks, adjoining said 5 leagues,

3d. An undivided moiety of 2214 acres, not located.

4th. Another undivided moiety of 2214 acres, not located.

5th. An undivided moiety of 1062 and two-thirds acres in Jackson County, being one-fourth of a sitis or league, (one labor less,) on Matagorda and Lavacca bays, being the league within which Coxe's point is situated.

6th. An undivided moiety of 8856 acres on both banks of the Salado creek, (adjoining the league embracing San-Antonio.)

7. An undivided moiety of a tract in the town of Bexar, on the eastern side of Solidad street and adjoining the river, 166 yards front on E street and running to the river.

The titles for the above lands patented, are said to be Spanish grants or concessions, with regular derivations of title; but these titles have not yet come into the hands or possession of the executors. These lands cost originally, many years ago, \$16,200, and are said to be worth twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, valued say at

25,000

They also make inventory of 340 shares of bank stock of the Commercial Bank of Manchester, Miss., standing on the transfer books in New York, which cost \$100 per share. This bank is in liquidation, and 5 per cent of the capital stock was delivered to Isaac Franklin, in his lifetime. Present value of said stock estimated at

11,900

Interest in the firm of Ballard, Franklin & Co. This firm was dissolved on the 10th November, 1841, at Natchez, Mississippi, where the business of said firm was carried on. (See record at Natchez.) John Arm-

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field, one of the firm, was alone authorized to collect the debts and settle the business of said firm. At the death of Isaac Franklin, he had an unsettled interest in said firm, and the debts of said firm, amounting to some forty or fifty thousand dollars; but, as the greater portion of said debts are uncollected, said interest cannot be definitely stated, but is estimated at 45,000

They also make inventory of J. J. Hughes of Yazoo County, Miss., two notes, of seven hundred and fifty dollars each, dated 8th April, 1846, payable one year, and the other at two years after the date, 1500

Also, certificate of deposit in the Manchester [Merchants] Insurance [and Trust] Company, at Nashville, for \$778 28, with interest at the rate of 6 per cent from 14th October, 1845, 778 28

RECAPITULATION.

Slaves, valued at	\$51,931 00
Stock and farming utensils on Fairvue Plantation,	10,888
Commercial Bank of Manchester, stock therein,	11,900
Interest in the firm of Ballard, Franklin, & Co.,	45,000
Hughes' notes,	1500
Certificate of deposit in the Merchants' Insurance and Trust Company,	778 28
Gallatin and Nashville Turnpike Co.'s stock,	300
Stock in stables, &c.,	166
Texas lands,	25,000
Lands in Sumner, constituting the Fairvue Plantation,	40,000
Aggregate amount,	<hr/> \$187,463 28
28th September, 1847.	

O. B. Hayes,
John Armfield,
Executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

8. INVENTORY OF THE ISAAC FRANKLIN ESTATE
IN WEST FELICIANA PARISH, LOUISIANA
JUNE 24-27, 1850¹

1. BELLEVUE PLANTATION.

Land.—Containing 2062 53 acres, composed of the following tracts, to wit:

	Acres
1. The George Rowe tract, under William Barker,	530 00
2. The John Rowe tract,	355 11
3. Part of the Cyrus Ratliff tract, under John Ratliff,	318 70
4. Part of the Antoine Travassos [Traversos] tract, under Edward Randolph,	314 00
5. Part of the Mary Lane tract, under John Ratliff,	210 87
6. Section Ten, purchased from State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	45 50
7. Section Eleven, purchased from State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	288 35
	Acres, 2062 53

With all the buildings, fixtures and improvements thereon, and in conformity with the rates of appraisement made by the experts on the 29th day of May, 1846, twenty dollars per acre; making the sum of forty-one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars and sixty cents. \$41,250 60

¹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 27-50. The original is preserved in West Feliciana Parish Succession Files, Box 46. The appraisal was made by John L. Lobdell and James S. Clack.

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Slaves.	Age.	
John Ford,	23 griff	\$900
Watty Ford,	21	900
Andrew Ford,	20	800
Emiline, wife of John Ford,	29 black	700
Allen Beadle,	30	900
Mahala, his wife,	30	200
Lydia, her child,	14	500
Joanna, do.	10	400
Pleasant, do.	2	200
Austin,	35 griff	600
Rachel Hill, his wife,	27 black	700
Lafayette, her child,	11 griff	500
Georgianna, do.	5	400
Austin, do.	3	200
Melissa, do.	infant	100
Bill Lee,	36 black	900
Sarah, his wife,	44	500
Henderson, her child,	12	500
Henry, do.	10	500
Clark Butler,	43	900
Eliza, his wife,	32	600
Ramaiah, her child,	12	400
Catharine, do.	10	400
Candis, do.	5	300
Bradly,	46	800
Martha Winchester, his wife,	31	700
Bradly, her child an infant,		100
William Churchman,	31	900
Hannah Buford, his wife	16	700
Demarins, his child by Hestor		
Tucker	4	300
Lucinda, do do	2	200
Henry, do do an infant		100
Daniel French,	41	800
Harriet Beadle, his wife	29	700
George Carroll,	34	800
Margaret Claiborne, his wife	20 griff	700
George Johnson,	34 black	600

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

Matilda, his wife	29	600
Amelia, her child	12	500
Olivia, do	10	400
Sarah Ann, do	8	350
Phillis, do	5	300
George, do	4	300
John, do	2	200
George Tucker,	22	900
Amy Morrison, his wife	22	900
Salina, her child	4 griff	250
Joe Acklen, do	1 black	100
Hampton,	34	900
Caroline Plato, his wife	34 griff	800
Jesse Beadle,	24 black	900
Susan Counsel, his wife,	20	600
Jacob Craig,	27	900
Rachel Crawley, his wife	34	700
John Burton,	26	900
Lenn,	34 griff	900
Ruth, his wife	27 black	700
Armstead, her child	2 griff	200
Nathan,	32	800
Eliza Johnson,	32 black	800
Liley, her child	13	500
Tiller, do	11	450
Angeline, do	9	400
January, do	7 griff	400
Virginia, do	6	300
Cora Ann, do	5	250
Cassey, do	2	150
Mary Ann, do	infant	100
Bush, a blacksmith,	25 black	900
Phil Evans,	29	1000
Mary Frances, his wife,	22	700
Aylsey,	69	100
Ben Johnson,	31 griff	900
Martha, his wife,	34 black	700
Rose, her child,	9	450
Annette, do.	6	350

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Joshua, do.	2	200
Nat Johnson,	34 black	900
Kitty Spriggs, his wife,	29	800
Moses Bell,	41 griff	900
Caroline, his wife,	39 black	700
Wesley, her child,	8	400
Bill Brown,	40	900
Nancy, his wife,	49	600
Ned Buford,	64	200
Caroline, his wife,	39	600
Stephen, her child	14	600
Rachal, do.	12	500
Leonard, do.	10	400
James, do.	6	300
Madison, do.	3	250
Jack Henson,	54	500
Adeline, his child,	14	700
Charles, do.	9	450
Harry Tucker,	54 griff	300
Luckey, his wife,	54 black	400
David, her child,	16 griff	500
Letitia, do.	12	500
Madora, do.	10	400
Joe Clark,	74 black	200
Clarissa, his wife	54 mulattress	300
William Watkins, her son,	22 griff	900
Nancy Rivers, his wife	20 black	700
Andrew Goodin, blacksmith	33	1200
Amanda, his wife	34	600
Victory, her child	1	100
Maria, an orphan	10 mulattress	400
Shelton, a carpenter	31 griff	1500
Jane Thomas, his wife	37	700
Littleton, her child	17	800
Sarah Jane, do	9	400
Plato Goodin, carpenter	32 mulatto	1200
Emily, his wife	24 black	700
Greensburg, her child	8 griff color	350
Amanda, do	2	200

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

William Wallace,	44 black	400
Stephen Gibbs, a bricklayer,	37	1500
Susan, his wife,	34	nothing.
		<hr/> \$65,900

Movables.

50 Work-horses and Mules, at	\$60 per head	3000
40 Out-horses,	20	800
130 head Sheep,	2	260
200 cattle,	7	1400
200 Hogs,	2 per head	400
1 Wagon, 1 Ox Cart, 1 Horse Cart, 20 each		60
45 Ploughs,	3 each	135
15 Scrapers,	3 each	45
80 Hoes,	1 each	80
12 Axes,	at 50 cents each	6
Old Furniture,		20
		<hr/> \$6206

Amount of value of land, buildings, fixtures,
slaves & movables of Bellevue plantation, one
hundred and thirteen thousand, three hun-
dred and fifty-six dollars and sixty cents, \$113,356 60

2. KILLARNEY PLANTATION.

Land.—Containing seventeen hundred twenty 13-
100 acres, composed of the following tracts, to wit:

	Acres.
1. Part of the Mary Lane tract, under John Ratliff,	210
2. The Jesse Ratliff tract, under Jacob A. Rowe,	337 87
3. The Robert Russell tract,	315 14
4. Part of the James Perrie tract, under John Barclay,	483
5. Section 23, purchased from the State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	374 14
	<hr/> 1720 13

ISAAC FRANKLIN

With all the buildings, fixtures and improvements thereon, was appraised at the sum of twenty-five dollars per acre making in the whole the sum of forty-three thousand and three dollars and twenty-five cents,

\$43,003 25

Slaves, viz.	Age	
Oliver,	18 black	800
Peter Tareney,	24	900
Reuben Morgan, carpenter,	41 griff	1200
Hester, his wife,	25 black	700
Ben, her child,	2	200
do.	infant	100
Andrew Mayhero,	64 griff	300
Peggy, his wife,	64 black	200
Andrew Hull,	34	900
Diana, his wife,	29	700
Andrew Lancaster,	34	900
Nelly, his wife,	27	700
Abe Wilkins,	49	600
Maria, his wife,	44	700
Sam, her child,	11	450
Bill Diggs,	38	800
Peggy, his wife	34	600
Sarah, her child	10	450
Wm. Henry Harrison, do	8	350
Oliver, do	4	200
Bill Garrett,	29	900
Mary, his wife	34	700
Alfred, her child	8	400
Miney, do	5	350
Mary Jane, do	3	200
Rachael, do	1	100
Bill Burk,	26	900
Charity, his wife	25	700
Bill Robinson,	26	900
Chatt Beadle,	25	900
Jane, his wife	28	700

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

Kiah Brooks,	39 griff	300
Garrison Selby,	37 black	900
Sophy, his wife	29	700
Mary, her child	6	400
Nancy, do	1	100
George Mason,	36 griff	900
Henry Williams, Blacksmith	36 bl'k	900
Henry Dent,	29	900
Nancy, his wife	29	700
Henry Harris,	29	900
Susan, his wife	34	700
Jim Jones,	29	800
Ann, his wife	29	700
Jerry Carroll,	28	900
Jerry White,	39	900
Charlotte, his wife	34	700
Louisa, her child	12	500
Frederick, do	10	300
Malvina, do	2	200
John Melford,	25	900
Cynthia, his wife	30	700
Daniel, her child	6	350
Madison, do	3	200
John Austin	46	500
Hannah, his wife	54	400
Joe Pride	34	900
Bob, his child	12	500
Barthena, do	6	300
Moses Robinson	39	900
Caroline, his wife	34	700
Bill, her child	13	500
Elizabeth, do	11	400
Solomon, do	7	400
Letty Ann, do	2	150
Ned Williams	34	900
Polly, his wife	34	100
Norman Pride,	29	700
Peter Nelson,	32	900

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Julia, his wife,	29	700
Mitchell, her child	7	400
Noah, do	3	200
Smith Johnson,	29	900
Tom Beadle,	23	900
Warren Brown,	34	900
Sarah, his wife	27	700
Jefferson, her child	6	400
Isaac, do	3	200
Warren Ross,	34	900
Lydia, his wife	32	700
Minerva, her child	11	450
Richmond, do	9	500
Edward, do	5	300
Jannette, do	1	100
Dorsey,	30	900
Huldy, his wife	34	700
Tempy Hunter,	49	400
Sevilla, her child	14	400
George, do	11	500
Philis, do	9	450
Essex, an orphan	15	500
Maria, do	11	500
Thomas, do	9 griff	400
Eliza Lewis,	34 black	700
Henry, her child	11	400
Pink do	6 griff	300
Randolph, do	4	300
Wessly do	1	100
Philis Beadle	64 black	200

\$56,300

Movables, to wit:

30 Work-Horses and Mules, at \$60 each	1800
100 Head of Cattle,	700
100 Hogs,	200
1 Cart, \$10, and 1 Horse Cart, \$15	25
1 Wagon,	75

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

40 Ploughs and Scrapers, at \$3 each	120
50 Hoes and 20 Axes, at 50 cents each	35
	<hr/>
	\$2955

Making the sum of one hundred and two thousand two hundred and fifty-eight dollars and twenty-five cents for the valuation of the Killarney plantation. \$102,258 25

3. LOCHLOMOND PLANTATION.

Land.—Containing 1641 39 acres, composed of the following tracts, viz:

	Arpents.
1. Part of the James Perrie tract, under John Barclay,	500 00
2. The tract of Solomon Alston, under John Alston,	1040 00
	Acres.
3. Section 24, No. 1, purchased from State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	32 16
4. Section 24, No. 2, purchased from State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	69 23
	<hr/>
	Acres, 1641 39

With all the buildings, fixtures and improvements thereon, was appraised at twenty dollars per arpent; makes the sum of thirty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven dollars and eighty cents. \$32,827 80

Slaves, viz.

Denara,	26 griff	800
Washington Green,	34 black	900
Hercules McGruder, carpenter	44 griff	900
Ann, his wife	30 black	700
Isaac, her child	10	450
Mary, do	4	250
John, do	1	100
Lee Jackson,	27	900

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Hannah Pride, his wife	34	700
Napoleon Jackson, her child	1	100
Jim Dickson, carpenter	70	200
Jinny, his wife	59	100
Albert, her son,	23	900
Mark Jackson,	23	900
Louisa, his wife	20	400
Henry Caldwell,	50 griff	500
Becky, his wife	34 black	700
John, her child	11 griff	500
Matthew do	6	300
Mark, do	3	250
Daniel Sims,	38 black	800
Luke Jackson,	67	200
Lucy, his wife	65 griff	200
Warren, her son	28 black	900
Jim Hines	50	500
Malinda, his wife	34	700
Elizabeth, her child	9	400
Barbary, do	7	350
Washington, do	3	250
Horace	30	900
Ellen, his wife	34	700
Rosetta, her child	16	400
Tom	26	600
Alfred	22	900
Jerry Cross	40	900
Mary, his wife	34 griff	700
Cornelius, her child	11	500
Minerva, do	5 black	300
John,	35 griff	800
Sally Ann, his wife	29 black	700
Berkey, her child,	3 griff	250
Black Hawk, do	1	100
Harriet Phoenix,	34 black	700
Henrietta, her child,	5	300
Esther, do	1	100
Harrison,	24	800
George Ford,	24 griff	900

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

Jane Lewis, a cook	34	800
Cealey Jourdan,	32 black	700
Malinda, her child	9 griff	450
Henry Adams,	38 black	200
Mary, his wife,	34	700
Joe, her child	10	500
Caleb, do	7	400
Ben, do	5	300
Godfrey, do	1	100
Dennis,	20	900
Henry Williams,	49 black	400
Lewis,	39	900
Winney, his wife,	27	700
Cornelius, her child	7	400
Shadrach, do	4	300
Williss, do	1	100
Albert,	24	900
Sarah, his wife,	31 griff	400
Gabriel, her child,	9	500
Walter,	25	900
Lydia, his wife,	26 black	700
Mary Jane, her child	9	450
Henson, do	7	400
George Read,	32	900
Calvin,	19	800
Harry Cotton,	44	200
Sally, his wife,	34	300
Dick Lee,	24	900
Moses,	30 griff	100
Brutus Jackson,	32 black	900
Francis, his wife, a seamstress	28 mulattress	800
Nelson,	25 black	900
Scipio,	50	200
Jenny Birch, his wife	40	400
Peggy, her child	13	500
Isabella, do	9	450
Gib, do	7	400
Harry Johnson,	36	700
Suckey, his wife,	59	200

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Peter Gib,	49	200
Giles,	35	400
Beckey, his wife	39	700
Emiline,	34	700
Catharine, her child	14	600
Martha, do	10	450
Sam, do	3	250
Judson,	29	400
Charles Blake,	32	900
Sophy,	49	400
William, her child,	11	500
Julia Ann, do	3	200
Avis,	39	700
Frank Stephens,	31	900
Caroline,	18 mulattress	700
Thomas Williams,	21 griff	900
Lewis Alford,	24	800
		<hr/>
		\$55,850 00

Movables, viz:

30 Work-horses & Mules, at \$60 each		1800
60 Head of Cattle,	7	420
75 do of Hogs,	2	150
2 Ox Carts,	20	40
1 Horse Cart,	10	10
30 Ploughs,	3	90
10 Scrapers,	3	30
50 Hoes,	50 cents	25
20 Axes,	50	10
		<hr/>
		\$2575

Making the sum of ninety-one thousand two hundred and fifty-two dollars and eighty cents for the Lochlomond plantation, \$91,252 80

4. ANGOLA OR ANGORA PLANTATION.

Land.—Containing 1364 11 acres, composed of the following tracts, to wit: [Acres]

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

1. Part of the Antoine Travassor [Traversos] tract, under Edward Randolph,	750 20
2. Part of the Cyrus Ratliff tract, under John Ratliff, jun.	318 00
3. Section 8, a preemption, purchased from — Robinson,	93 00
4. Section 15, purchased from State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	33 54
5. Section 22, purchased from State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	169 37

Acres, 1364 11

With all the buildings, fixtures and improvements thereon, was appraised at \$20 per acre; making for the whole, the sum of twenty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-two dollars and twenty cents. \$27,282 20

Steam saw-mill, engine, machinery, buildings and fixtures, extra, \$5000 00

Slaves, viz.

Salsbury,	27 black	800
Arthur Booth,	39	900
Sarah, his wife	31	700
Charlotte, her child	2	200
Warren Lewis, engineer	39 mulatto	1500
Frances, his wife, seamstress	24 mulattress	800
Charlotte, her child	6	400
Leanna, do	4	300
Beverly, do	infant mulatto	150
Wallace,	48	900
Leanna, his wife, seamstress	43 mulattress	800
Maria, her child	12	600
Jake Cromley,	64 black	200
Antrim,	52	500
Winney, his wife,	36	600
Henry, her child	11	400
America, do	6	350
Malvina, do	5	300
Cemente, do	3	250

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Ann, do	infant	100
Washington Taylor, carpenter,	23 mulatto	1200
Malinda, his wife, seamstress	20 mulattress	800
Victoria, her child,	1	100
Claiborne, blacksmith	57	800
Sylvia Yates, his wife	49	500
Lloyd,	23 griff	900
Matilda, his wife	26 black	700
Sarah, her child	7	350
Desdemona, do	5	300
Matilda, do	3	200
Octavia, do	1	100
Jesse Grymes,	44 griff	800
Ellen Smallwood, his wife,	29 black	700
Robert, her child	9	500
William Douglas,	46	900
Maria Davis, his wife	29	700
Sam Henson,	34 griff	900
Kitty Johnson, his wife	34 black	700
Washington, her child	14 griff	600
Aaron Miller,	34 black	900
Henry Marshall,	32	900
Basil Cole,	32	500
Jack Spotts,	39	900
Kitty, his wife	29	700
Amos, her child	7	400
Shadrach, do	4	300
Daniel, do	2	200
Alfred Welch,	34	900
Sally Barrett, his wife,	34	700
Ben Boston,	34	900
Mary Brown, his wife	21	700
Stepney,	34	900
Airey, his wife	29 griff	700
Letty Ann, her child	4 black	250
Catharine, do	2	200
George Kirkman,	30	900
Emily Beadle, his wife,	21	700
Nick Smith,	29	900

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

Harriet Thompson, his wife,	29	700
Susan, her child,	14	600
Alfred Williams,	32	900
Celia Miller, his wife	34 griff	700
Meshac, her child,	5 black	300
Joshua, do	1	100
Thomas Brockett,	36	900
John Grinnell,	38 griff	900
Maria Nailer, his wife	34	700
John Smith,	30 black	900
Peggy French, his wife	34	700
Jonas, her child	9 griff	450
Anderson, do	3 black	250
Randal Harris,	29	900
Sylvia McCallister, his wife,	29	700
John, her child	5	350
Belleford, do	2	200
Lewis Washington,	33	900
Centilla, his child, by Maria,	6	300
Laurina, do	2	200
Phil Green,	64	300
George Moore,	69	100
Daniel Gray,	69	300
Aaron,	29	900
Violet, his wife,	27	700
Joseph Johnson,	27 griff	900
Francis, his wife	46 black	400
Mary Jane, her child	6	350
Delia, do	2	200
Joe Trottmann,	31	900
Matilda, his wife	32 griff	700
Virginia, her child	8	400
Milly, do	4	300
Len, do	1	100
Henry Jackson,	31 black	900
Jane Craig, his wife,	26	700
Delsey, her child,	8	400
Daniel Furry, wheelwright	44	1000
Ann, his wife	39	400

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Randal Jones, carpenter	41 griff	1200
Kesiah, his wife	22 black	700
Jane Hickman,	24	700
Delia Ann, her child	5	400
Jake, do	1	100
Adeline Murry,	16	700
Fanny Robinson,	34	700
Elijah, her child	3	200
Margaret do	1	100
Sam Nailer,	30	900
Hester Ann, his wife	29	700
Elvira,	31	700
Lucy Ann, her child	11	400
Zack,	74	200
Sally, his wife	64	200
Sandy Bollins,	29	900

\$65,450 00

Movables, viz:

36 Mules and Horses, at \$60 each	2160
80 Head of Cattle & Oxen, 8 each	640
1 Wagon,	50
2 Carts, 15	30
30 Ploughs and 10 Scrapers, at \$3	120
20 Axes, and 50 Hoes, at 50 cents	35

\$3035

Making in the whole, the sum of one hundred thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven dollars and twenty cents, for the Angola or Angora plantation, lands, fixtures, buildings, saw-mill, &c.; and improvements, including the slaves and movable property, \$100,767 20

5. LOANGO PLANTATION.

Land.—Containing 1173 36 acres, composed of the following tracts, viz.

1. The William Justice tract,	Acres.
	667 50

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

2. Section 26, purchased from the State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip,	90 20
3. Section 27, purchased from the State of Louisiana, under improvement scrip; afterwards vacated in favor of Jesse Lorange, and [re]purchased from him,	210 18
4. Section 59, part of the Vidal tract, held, owned and possessed for many years,	205 48
	<hr/>
	Acres, 1173 36

With all the buildings, fixtures and improvements thereon, is now appraised at \$10 per acre; making for the whole, the sum of eleven thousand seven hundred and thirty-three dollars and sixty cents. \$11,733 60

Slaves, viz.

York,	34 black	500
Merrick Troyer,	33	900
Samuel McComas,	30	900
Caty North, his wife	28	700
Bill Carey,	27	900
Sam Gelding,	26	900
George Steel,	22	800
Basil,	44	600
Charity, his wife	34 griff	700
Resen, her child	12	500
Alexander, do	10	400
Milly Jane, do	7	350
James do	5	300
Elmira, do	3	200
Clementina, do	1	100
Harry,	23 black	900
John Holland,	36	900
Isam Johnson, a carpenter	44	1200
Martha, his wife	33	600
Frederick, her child	12	500
Julius, do	8	350
Nelly, do	5	300
Elisha, do	1	100

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Sam Morrison,	54	400
Daphney, his wife	49	500
Horatio, her child,	15	600
Ned, do	11	400
Sam, do	8	300
Dick, do	6	250
Martha Morrison, do	26	700
Henry, her child,	6	350
Ursilla, do	2	200
Adaline Blair,	29	700
Francina, her child,	9	400
Rebecca, do	6	300
Louisa, do	an infant	100
Adelle,	29	700
Louisa, her child	14 mulattress	500
Josephine, do	9 black	400
John Edward, do	5 griff	300
Susan Hunley,	34 black	700
Alexander, her child	11	400
Victoria, do	infant griff	100
Emily Winchester,	29 black	600
Turner,	29	900
David Hawkins,	30	900
Martha Resaw, his wife,	29	700
John Henson,	41	900
Mary, his wife	30	700
James Henry,	29	900
Ellen Roan, his wife	34	700
Jim, her child	11	500
Adalicia, do	9	400
Louisa, do	7	350
Anthony, do	4	300
Parthena, do	1	100
Moses Pierce,	39	900
Rowden Jones,	30	900
Bill Johnson,	31	900
Treasy Butler, his wife,	30 griff	700
Matilda, her child	1 black	100
Lewis Munco,	24 griff	900

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

Mason Thomas,	23 black	900
Margaret, his wife	24 griff	700
John, her child	2	200
Arthur Hill,	28 black	900
Sarah Henry, his wife,	16	700
Eleanora, her child	infant	100
Charity,	64	nothing
Henry Miller,	34	900
Elias Washington,	28	900
Hannibal,	34	500
Alfred Murry,	31 griff	900
Pricilla Blount, his wife	20 black	700
Ned Hawkins,	34	900
Tom Foster,	44	900
Joe Cato,	33	900
Cage Scott,	34	900
Samuel James Potter,	28	900
Perry,	32	900
Isaac Wilson,	30	900
Mary Foster, his wife	23	700
William Harris,	29 griff	900
Tom Sewel,	25 black	900
Washington Ford,	30	900
Randall Williams,	23 griff	900
John Sims,	29 black	900
William Jenkins,	32	900
Watty Harris,	29	900
John Hall,	42	600
Spencer,	44	900
Phill Johnson,	54	500
Dick Kibbe,	25 mulatto	900
Thornton,	34 black	900
Windsor Cain,	25	900
Nathan,	31	900
		<hr/>
		\$60,550

Movables, to wit:

32 Mules and Horses, at \$60 each	1920
60 Head of Cattle, 10 each	600

ISAAC FRANKLIN

30 Hogs,	2 each	60
7 Wagons,	50 each	350
6 Carts,	15 each	90
60 Axes	1 each	60
		<hr/> \$3080

Making the whole amount of land, buildings, fixtures and improvements, including the slaves and movable property, on the Loango plantation, the sum of seventy-five thousand three hundred and sixty-three dollars and sixty cents. \$75,363 60

6. PANOLA PLANTATION.

Land.—Containing 718 47 acres, composed of the following tracts, to wit: Acres.

1. The John Row tract, 355 11
2. The Kenyon Kendrick tract, under John Tibb, 363 36

Acres, 718 47

With all the buildings, fixtures and improvements thereon, was appraised at \$20 per [acre]. And making for the whole, the sum of fourteen thousand three hundred and sixty-nine dollars and forty cents. \$14,369 40

Slaves, viz:

John Taylor,	26 black	900
Nace,	26 griff	900
Charles White,	39 black	900
Henry Johns,	34 griff	900
Mariah H. his wife,	22 black	700
George Luckett,	27 griff	900
Joe Long,	30 black	900
William Cain,	25	900
Phill,	52	600
Charles Ewing,	30	900
James Brown,	21	900

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

Joe Brown,	24	900
Ferdinand,	23	900
Lewis Marks,	23	900
Alfred Jackson,	21	900
Wilson, carpenter	42 mulatto	600
Matilda Butler, his wife	29 mulattress	700
Beckey, her child	4 griff	300
Peter Brown,	23	900
Catharine,	20 black	700
Harriet West,	20	700
Julia Downs,	24	700
Mary Jane,	23	700
Martha Jones,	20	700
Martha West,	21	700
Philis,	21	700
Peggy,	22	700
David Carver,	34	900
Patsey, his wife	29 griff	700
Julia Ann, her child	14	500
Frank,	27 mulatto	800
Rose Gardner,	29 mulattress	600
Wesley, her child	11 griff	500
Alice, do	2 mulattress	150
Stephen Green,	25 black color	900
Stephen Bernard,	29 griff	800

\$26,950

Movables, viz.

16 Horses and Mules,	at \$60 each	960
30 head of Cattle,	7	210
30 head of Hogs,	2	60
2 Carts,	15	30
24 Ploughs and Scrapers,	3	72
30 Hoes and 20 Axes,	at 50 cents each	25

\$1357

Making the whole amount of the land, fixtures, buildings and improvements, including slaves and movable property of the

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Panola plantation, the sum of forty-two thousand six hundred and seventy-six dollars, and forty cents

\$42,676 40

And making the whole value of the six plantations, the sum of five hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred and seventy-four dollars, and eighty-five cents.

\$525,674 85

9. SLAVES BORN ON THE ISAAC FRANKLIN ESTATE
IN WEST FELICIANA PARISH, LOUISIANA
1846 TO JUNE 25, 1850¹

Madison, child of Caroline,	3	black color
Bradley, child of Martha Winchester,	an	infant black
Milly, child of Matilda Trottman,	4	griff
Len, do.	1	
Pleasant, child of Mahala,	2	black
Jake, child of Jane Hickman,	1	
Beckey, child of Matilda Butler,	4	griff
Matilda, child of Treasey Butler,	1	black
Alice, child of Rose Gardner,	2	mulattress
Charlotte, child of Sarah Booth,	2	black
Austin, child of Rachael Hill,	3	griff
Melissa, do.	an	infant
Amanda, child of Emily Gordon,	2	griff
Cassey, child of Eliza Johnson,	2	
Mary Ann, do.	an	infant
Anderson, child of Peggy French,	3	black
Anthony, child of Ellen Roan,	4	
Parthena, do.	1	
Cementa, child of Winney,	3	
Ann, do.	an	infant
Beckey, child of Sally Ann,	3	griff
Black Hawk, do.	1	
Laurena, child of Maria Watt,	2	black
Esther, child of Harriet Phoenix,	1	
George, child of Matilda Johnson,	4	
John, do.	2	
Elijah, child of Fanny Robinson,	3	
Margaret, do.	1	

¹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 51-53; West Feliciana Parish Succession Files, Box 46.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Ben, child of Hester Bass,	2
An infant, do.	
Mary, child of Ann McGruder,	4
John, do.	1
Elisha, child of Martha Johnson,	1
Belleford, child of Sylvia McCallister,	2
Letty Ann, child of Airey,	4
Catharine, do.	2
Armstead, child of Ruthy,	2 griff
Joshua, child of Martha Johnson,	2 black
Victoria, child of Susan Hunley,	an infant griff
Joshua, child of Celia Miller,	1 black
Victory, child of Amanda Gooden,	1
Leanna, child of Frances Lewis,	4 mulattress
Beverly, do.	an infant mulatto
Victoria, child of Malinda,	1 mulattress
Lucinna, child of Hester Tucker,	4 black
Henry, do.	an infant
Shadrack, child of Kitty Spotts,	4
Daniel, do.	2
Louisa, child of Adaline Blair,	an infant
Ursilla, child of Martha Morrison,	2
Nancy, child of Sophy Garrison,	1
Noah, child of Julia Nelson,	3
Isaac, child of Sarah Brown,	3
Jennetta, child of Lydia Ross,	1
Nancy Jane, child of Mary Garrett,	3
Racheal, do.	1
Malvina, child of Charlotte White,	2
Randolph, child of Eliza Lewis,	4 griff
Wesley, do.	1
Oliver, child of Peggy Diggs,	4 black
Letty Ann, child of Caroline Robinson,	2
Madison, child of Cinthia Melford,	3
Napoleon Jackson, child of Hannah Pride,	1
Mark, child of Beckey Caldwell,	3 griff
Washington, child of Malinda Hines,	3 black
Sarah, child of Emmeline,	3
Julia Ann, child of Sophy,	3

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

Godfrey, child of Mary Adams,	1
Shadrack, child of Winney Lewis,	4
Willis, do.	1
Ellenora, child of Sarah Henry,	an infant
Elmira, child of Charity,	3 griff
Clementina, do.	1
Matilda, child of Matilda,	3 black
Octavia, do.	1
Beckey, child of Matilda Butler,	4 mulattress
Delia, child of Frances Johnson,	2 black
Salina, child of Amy Morrison,	4 griff
Joe Acklen, do.	1 black
John, child of Margaret B.,	2 griff

10. SLAVE DEATHS ON THE ISAAC FRANKLIN ESTATE
IN WEST FELICIANA PARISH, LOUISIANA
1846 TO JUNE 25, 1850¹

BELLEVUE PLANTATION.

	Age
Carter,	11
Michel,	an infant
Sidney,	5 months
Mariah Watt,	20
Aggy,	65
Tom,	5
Hester Tucker,	24

KILLARNEY PLANTATION.

Miller,	30
Sally,	15
John,	12
Vincent,	30
Thomas Hallac,	55
Bob Jones,	35

LOCHLOMOND PLANTATION.

John Gelden,	33
Jim Gelp,	28
Stephen,	20
Dick,	30
George Rceder,	43
Ann,	42
Frank,	40
Margaret,	30
Jane Harper,	53
Agnes,	33

¹ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 51; West Feliciana Parish Succession Files, Box 46.

CONVEYANCES AND INVENTORIES, 1835-1850

ANGOLA OR ANGORA PLANTATION.

Aaron Hamilton,	28
Tom Dawson,	27
Milly Gray,	50
Jim Forbes,	29
William H. Douglass,	35
Cyrus Read,	35
Cilla (new purchase),	20

PART THREE
FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

INTRODUCTION

The financial records of Franklin's Louisiana estate for the period 1846-1850 yield copious evidence on the prices of commodities and services necessary to the plantation regime. What did it cost to maintain a complicated establishment of 6,678 acres of land and 577 slaves, devoted to the production of cotton, wood, and lumber? In round numbers the expenditures for the four-year period under review totaled \$150,000.¹ Of this amount nearly \$38,000 was invested in prime slaves² whose value would increase in succeeding years and who would rear a progeny to take their places. The cost with interest could be liquidated at any time. This investment was part of an expansion program and aided materially in exploiting the estate's resources more effectively.

The cost of supervision was unusually large. Under normal circumstances a steward and five or six overseers would have been enough for efficient management. But both Armfield and Hayes, executors of the estate, gave much attention to the direction and expansion of the West Feliciana plantations; hence there were three general agents whose salaries ranged from \$1,000 to \$1,500.

¹ This figure is an approximation, but it is probably fairly accurate. Certain expenditures are available for only three years, others for more than four.

² Six Fairvue hands, who had been mischief-makers on the Tennessee plantation, were hired in 1846 for a period of eighteen months at \$10 per month.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

The managerial staff was paid a total of \$25,000³ for the four years, or more than \$6,000 a year.

Food, shelter, clothing, and medical attention were vital necessities which account for at least a third of the operating expenses. Merchandise purchased for plantation maintenance was, it may be presumed, supplemented by domestic production, but the records do not reveal what articles were manufactured at home nor what provision crops (except corn) were grown on the Louisiana plantations. According to the inventory of 1850, there were some 500 head of cattle, 435 hogs, and 130 sheep, yet it was necessary to buy large quantities of pork and bacon. Staple supplies averaged \$6,000 annually, or about \$11 per slave. Dry goods and clothing—boots and shoes, hats and blankets, osnaburgs and linsey—cost a little less than \$3,000 a year. As the health of the slaves was of prime importance, there were drug bills and doctors' visits which averaged \$800 per annum, or \$1.45 per slave. Lumber for slave cabins and other improvements came from the Angola sawmill, but hardware and other building materials, amounting to \$4,000 for the quadrennium, were purchased of New Orleans merchants.

During the period that the executors controlled the estate, \$4,500 was spent for horses and mules; a much smaller amount for farm implements and tools. Although hay and oats (as well as corn) were undoubtedly grown on some of the plantations, \$20,000 was expended for these three items between 1846 and 1850.

Of the marketable products of the estate, only cotton required much expense beyond the cost of labor and mechanical equipment. Bagging, rope, and twine aver-

³ This amount does not include the commissions of \$6,400 which each executor received.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

aged \$1,250 annually. The freight charges between the Franklin Landing and New Orleans amounted to 75 cents a bale; the cost of transporting a thousand or more bales each year was an appreciable sum. Wood was sold to river craft, lumber to nearby residents; neither entailed any expense in the marketing process.

The financial records fairly bristle with traveling expenses, but most of these items should be charged against succession costs since few of them were in any way related to plantation economy. State and parish taxes ranged from \$1,074.50 in 1846 to \$1,892.26 in 1848. The only insurance of record was an annual policy of \$5,000 on the steam sawmill, the premium amounting to \$100.

On the credit side of the ledger, the sale of cotton, wood, and lumber yielded a total of some \$220,000 ⁴ for the four-year period. After deducting money expended for slave purchases from the debit column, the net income amounted to more than \$100,000, or over \$25,000 a year. Estimating the investment at \$500,000, the annual return was something like 5 per cent.

The financial records also indicate in a very tangible way the dependence of the plantation regime upon the institution of factorage. Commission merchants ⁵ were important functionaries in the economic life of the Old South. Without them, large-scale agricultural industry could hardly have existed. Planters marketed their crops through factors, purchased plantation supplies of them, and utilized them as a source of credit.

⁴ The record of cotton sales for 1846 is incomplete, and the return for that year has been approximated.

⁵ Buck uses the terms "factors" and "commission merchants" synonymously. *Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade, 1800-1850*, pp. 6 ff.

The factorage system had its origin in the colonial period. West India sugar planters on Barbados and Jamaica used the English factor as merchant and banker. The system was introduced in seventeenth century Virginia to provide tobacco planters with a means of marketing their crops and of purchasing merchandise with the proceeds.⁶ As the plantation regime spread to other Southern colonies factorage accompanied it. The introduction of cotton in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the rapid expansion of its culture over the Lower South in the early decades of the nineteenth gave commission houses increasing significance.

There was, however, a fundamental difference in the regimes of the colonial and ante-bellum periods. Colonial planters consigned their staples to English merchants whom they never saw and who frequently took advantage of the 3,000 miles which separated plantation and market to charge exorbitant freights and commissions. After the Revolution, factors established themselves in the ports along the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts and in some interior cities of the South. Planters were thus enabled to follow closely market fluctuations and in some instances to visit the buying centers at market seasons.

The extent of the factorage business in New Orleans is indicated by any issue of the *Price-Current*, a paper devoted to the interests of commerce and trade. Issues of that publication for the late forties list more than 300 factors or commission merchants in addition to brokers and

⁶ The origin and nature of the factorage system in Virginia is treated in Bassett, "The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant," in *loc. cit.*, 551-76. The records of an important factorage firm of the Revolutionary period are printed in Mason (ed.), *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia*. See also, Bassett, *Southern Plantation Overseer*, Chap. XV.

other firms not described as commission merchants but some of whom undoubtedly engaged in factorage activities.⁷ Many firms advertised their wares in country newspapers as well as in city presses and directories.

New Orleans was favorably situated to profit from the plantation regime. Planters over a considerable portion of the Lower Mississippi Valley found it expedient to market their crops and to purchase supplies there. In fact, the Crescent City was a unifying economic influence in the Lower Valley. Relations between its commission merchants and sugar and cotton planters obliterated state boundary lines and delineated a region of economic dependence. While the limits of the region are not suggested by the present study, it is apparent that cotton from Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, and Texas found outlet through the port of New Orleans.

In the advancement of credit, factors rendered a most significant banking service.⁸ A growing or even an unplanted crop was commonly accepted as security. The money thus advanced provisioned the plantation until the crop was harvested, although part of it might be used for

⁷ New Orleans *Price-Current, Commercial Intelligencer and Merchants' Transcript*, 1846-1850, *passim*. A few merchants in upriver cities, as Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Nashville, and Vicksburg, were either listed separately or through their New Orleans connections.

⁸ This aspect of factorage, as well as many others, is discussed in Alfred H. Stone, "The Cotton Factorage System of the Southern States," in *American Historical Review*, XX (1915), 557-65; Buck, *The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade, 1800-1850*, Chap. IV.

S. A. Caldwell, *The New Orleans Trade Area* (Louisiana State University Bureau of Business Research, *Bulletin No. 1* [Baton Rouge, 1936]), has a brief section devoted to the ante-bellum period, but it does not touch upon the immediate problem involved in this study. The present writer has in preparation a study of the plantation regime in the Lower Mississippi Valley which will emphasize New Orleans as a unifying factor and a focus of economic life.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

improvements and slave purchases. The planter not only paid a high rate of interest on the money advanced; he also paid credit prices for his purchases which were considerably higher than cash prices. While the amount advanced differed with localities and factors, the maximum was usually from two-thirds to three-fourths of the anticipated market value of the staple.

The practice of making advances was responsible in many cases for prolonged and intimate relations between planter and factor. They were, said Alfred H. Stone, "as close probably as was ever the case between business associates. The ties between them frequently were life-long, and their relations were of a social and personal as well as business nature. How far this close personal association affected plantation policy, it is not possible to say. But it is certain that the counsel and advice of the factor were frequently reflected in the planter's affairs. . . . Millions of dollars have been advanced by Southern factors upon the mere personal word of the planter, with no formal security at all, and with only a memorandum to witness the amounts involved." ⁹ H. R. W. Hill, of the firms of Dick and Hill, and Hill, McLean, and Company, had been intimately acquainted with Franklin and Armfield since their slave-trading days of the early thirties. They had prospered as reputable traders, and when Franklin became a Louisiana planter in 1835 and Armfield his executor in 1846, confidential relations with one of the leading New Orleans factorage firms were assured.

In the years for which the financial records of the

⁹ Stone, "Cotton Factorage System of the Southern States," *loc. cit.*, 559.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Franklin estate are available, some thirty New Orleans firms announced through the columns of the *Price-Current* their willingness to make advances upon produce consigned to them and many who did not so advertise were prepared to extend this form of credit. Franklin's executors occasionally found it necessary to apply to their New Orleans factors for advances. As an example, it appears from the accounts for 1847 that Dick and Hill advanced \$5,795.69 on 219 bales of cotton shipped by the steamer *Sweden*, a shipment which yielded a gain of \$462.43 over the advance.¹⁰

The commission houses which handled cotton from the Franklin estate charged the usual commission of 2½ per cent. River insurance amounted to $\frac{35}{100}$ per cent; fire insurance, 1 per cent. In addition there were charges for drayage, storage, weighing, and labor which together totaled 50 cents per bale. Interest rates on bills of exchange settled through the firms usually amounted to 8 per cent.

Isaac Franklin and his executors were served by fifty or sixty New Orleans factors and merchants. About a score of firms helped to supply the West Feliciana plantations with provisions. Nearly as many dry goods merchants and clothiers contributed to the maintenance of the estate. Two hardware companies and three drug firms received large orders. Miscellaneous items were purchased from a dozen others. The great volume of the trade was concentrated in New Orleans, but merchants of upriver cities also shared in the business. J. S. Chenowith and Company of Cincinnati, A. S. White and Company and Armstrong and Russell of Louisville, Nichol and Company and D. Trigg of Nashville received orders for mess

¹⁰ *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 773.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

pork and bacon, and Hannah, Courtney, and Company of St. Louis helped to market Spanish moss.

The financial records of the Louisiana plantations presented some difficult editorial problems. In the first place, their bulk prevented publication in toto, as the accounts for the period 1846-1850 ran to some 400 typewritten pages. Much of the material, however, is not particularly pertinent to an understanding of the plantation regime or the factorage system. Perhaps a third of it pertains to succession expenses, and all of this has been deleted. Further, there is much repetition, for not only were skeleton accounts filed in the years 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850, but also detailed vouchers to the accounts. But the most serious objection to publishing them as they were entered in the court proceedings is that their haphazard arrangement renders them most unintelligible. As they stand, bills for shipments of osnaburgs in July appear on the same page as traveling expenses for December. After much thought and considerable experimentation, it was decided to rearrange the entries by subject matter, using the more detailed vouchers to the accounts. Thus, all of the vouchers pertaining to purchases of clothing and dry goods have been assembled and arranged with some attention to chronology—though the chronological arrangement has been defeated here and there rather than separate bills which ran for months or years. It is believed that the topical method will promote an intelligent understanding that would otherwise have been impossible. This plan has its disadvantages, chief of which is the fact that revenues and expenses cannot be visualized by years. The deletion of skeleton accounts, succession expenses, and insignificant items not closely related to plantation

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

maintenance has brought the length of the section within publication limits.

Certain editorial liberties have been taken with the text of the accounts, mainly to promote uniformity of arrangement and to conserve space. A few unusual or difficult abbreviations have been expanded, but such abridgments as "b" for "bit" (12½ cents) occur too frequently to permit ampliation. In the accounts for which there are printed records only, there are some inaccuracies in tabulations; no effort has been made to correct them. Wherever possible, names of firms and individuals have been identified in footnotes.

1. COTTON SALES TO NEW ORLEANS FACTORS

Sales by Nalle and Cox ¹ of 17 bales Mastodon cotton, received per steamer Concordia, 21st December, 1846, for account of the estate of Isaac Franklin.

1847, February 8.

Lochlomond, B[y] H. Williams.² Delivered 10th.

[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]
26	374		420
23	395	103	396
104	403	101	386
	390	20	410
	395	2	418
97	418		417
25	400	100	408
	424		
98	395		
22	394		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
3988		2875	

Total: 17 bales Mastodon, 6863, at 12½c., \$857 88

Charges.

River insurance, 35-100 per cent on \$40

per bale,

\$2 38

Fire insurance, 2 mos., 1 per cent,

8 57

Drayage, storage, weighing and labor, 4b.,

8 50

Commission, 2½ per cent,

21 44

40 89

Net proceeds,

\$816 99

Nalle and Cox.

¹ Albert Nalle and William Cox, commission merchants, 90 Camp Street, New Orleans. This was one of the three factorage firms through which bills for plantation supplies were paid. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 181, 439; *New Orleans Price-Current*, January 8, 1848.

² Commission merchant, 90 Common Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 583.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Deduct from above amount, to be paid to Mr. Miller, for difference between value of Mastodon cotton, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and Mexican, $11\frac{1}{4}$, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on 6863 lbs., is \$85 79, one-half of which sum, to credit of Mr. Miller, is

\$42 89

Balance due estate of I. Franklin, deceased,

\$774 10

Sales by Nalle and Cox, of 88 bales cotton, received per steamers Sam Dale and Concordia, 21st December, 1846, for account of estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

1847, February 8.

Lochlomond,	By H. Williams.				Delivered 10th.
	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]	
	73	421	85	420	
	39	410		421	
	75	428	63	413	
	2	528	64	424	
	33	402	90	418	
	1	472	69	457	
		478	70	429	
	89	427	65	441	
		421		422	
	42	428	29	438	
	<hr/>		<hr/>		
	4415		4277		
20 bales, weighing 8692 lbs., at 11½ cents,					\$999 58

[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]
	433		413	51	445		434
57	447	16	414		424	41	413
	426	6	428	17	423		431
4	409	36	416	16	420	12	426
44	434	93	422	18	405		430
28	329	5	435	11	405	13	404
82	441	30	410	7	408	71	430
71	431	77	434		420		410

ISAAC FRANKLIN

83	429	31	414	47	405	80	419
58	407	53	404		403		422
<hr/> 4186		<hr/> 4190		<hr/> 4158		<hr/> 4219	

	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]
	1	414	3	481	76	445
	41	473	24	383	84	432
	88	419		399	72	443
		426	8	424	78	403
		404	30	408	81	422
		421	33	414		405
	38	397		425	86	440
	62	380		423	68	424
	66	420		446		
	92	445	27	306		
	<hr/> 4199		<hr/> 4199		<hr/> 3424	
68 bales, weighing	28575—11¼				3214 69	4214.27

Charges,

River insurance, 35-100 per ct. on \$40 per bale,	\$12 32	
Fire insurance, two mos., 1 per ct.,	42 14	
Drayage, storage, weighing and labor, 4b.	44	
Commission, 2½ per ct.,	105 35	203 31
Nett proceeds,	Dollars	4010 46
E[rrors] E[xcepted] New Orleans, 11 Feby., 1847. ³		
Nalle and Cox.		

Sales by Nalle and Cox, of 109 bales of cotton, received per sundry boats, for account estate Isaac Franklin, deceased.

1847, By Charles Richard,⁴ Delivered 15th.

³ There is no separate voucher in the 1847 accounts for 185 bales sold by Dick and Hill for \$9,054.35. Dick and Hill further recorded in their accounts for that year \$5,795.69 "By advance on two hundred and nineteen bales cotton, pr Sweden."

⁴ Merchandise and produce broker, 51 Camp Street, New Orleans. New Orleans *Price-Current*, January 8, 1848. Later a partnership was formed, Richard & Leisy, cotton factors, 16 St. Charles Avenue. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory*, for 1851, p. 161.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Dec. 10.—Lochlomond.

	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]	[No.]	[Wt.]
	418		195	434	173	428		441		430
	462			500	187	446		410		407
158	422			406		408	234	478	207	443
	440	179		427		431		402	224	415
	431	162		432		421	238	450		480
	457			438		415		416	200	420
191	427	184		440		423		434		415
	445	193		428		420	235	464		425
183	445	192		429		461	228	516		445
	434			416	188	432		448		424
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
	4375		4350		4285		4459		4304	
	420		427	243	427		423	194	462	
	415	264	388	239	450		423		408	
	418	239	420		414		435		434	
	426	244	415		413		425		430	
	454	252	416		429		425		425	
	516	262	403	259	441		440	205	443	
	443	245	433		424	227	527		443	
230	453		411	263	410		449		445	
232	457		405	236	384		403		423	
231	480		412		425	220	483		447	
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
	4482		4130		4217		4433		4360	
	407									
	408									
	415									
249	414									
247	433									
241	428									
205	404									
	428									
	406									
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
	3743									

Total, 109 bales, weighing 47138 lbs., 6 11-16, \$3152 35

[207]

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Charges.

River insurance, 35-10[0] per cent, on \$35 per bale,		13 35	
Fire insurance, 11½ month, on 42 bales			
¾ per cent on \$1218	\$9 13		
" 1 month, on 67 bales ½			
per cent, on \$1934 25,	9 67	18 80	
Drayage, storage, weighing and labor, 50 cents,	54 50		
Commission, 2½ per cent,	78 81	165 46	
Nett proceeds,			\$2986 89
E[rrors] E[xcepted], New Orleans, 10th December, 1847.			
Nalle and Cox.			

Sales by Nalle and Cox, of 37 bales cotton, received per sundry boats, for acct. estate Isaac Franklin, deceased.
1847.

Dec. 31	By Clason and Vles, ⁵ Delivered 8th Jan'y, 1848.			
	[Wt.]	[Wt.]	[Wt.]	[Wt.]
Lochlomond.	378	404	370	428
	380	409	371	444
	387	428	403	420
	400	353	348	487
	414	354	406	441
	358	415	418	416
	350	406	431	465
	362	421	420	
	354	358	434	
	418	400	516	
	3801	3948	4126	3101
Total, 37 bales—208—14,976, at 6¼c.				936 00

Charges.

River insurance, 35-100 per cent on \$35 per bale	4 53
Fire insurance, ½ per cent	4 68

⁵ [?] Clason [Clasen] and J. F. C. Vles, commission merchants, 108 Common Street, New Orleans. Vles was the "consulate of Saxon Denmark." *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 164, 567.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Drayage, storage, weighing and labor, 4b	18 50	
Commission, 2½ per cent	23 40	51 11
		<hr/>
Nett proceeds		\$884 79

E[rrors] E[xcepted], New Orleans, 8th January, 1848.

Nalle & Cox.

Sales by Nalle and Cox, of 33 bales cotton, received per steamer Magnolia, 24th January, 1848, for acct. estate I. Franklin, deceased.

1848.

Jan'y 31	By Chs. Orrin & Co.			
	[Wt.]	[Wt.]	[Wt.]	[Wt.]
Lochlomond	428	428	431	420
	437	439	411	418
	408	405	445	435
	458	452	437	
	443	421	430	
	436	466	431	
	429	486	435	
	465	443	447	
	452	447	424	
	430	468	445	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4380	4455	4336	1273

Total, 33 bales—208—14,444—at 6c.

866 64

Charges.

River Insurance, 35-100 per cent on \$35 per bale	4 04	
Fire Insurance ½ per cent	4 33	
Drayage, storage, weighing and labor, 4b	16 50	
Commissions, 2½ per cent	21 66	46 53
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Nett proceeds		\$820 11

E[rrors] E[xcepted], New Orleans, 3rd February, 1848.^o

Nalle and Cox.

^o There are no separate vouchers in the 1848 accounts for the following sales by Nalle and Cox:

September 23, 1847 81 bales \$3,473.62

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Receipts and sales of cotton,⁷ by . . . Nalle and Cox, shipped to them from the plantation of the estate in Louisiana, to wit:
1848.

Oct. 7,	By sales of 84 bales cotton,	\$1886 45
Nov. 3,	50	1035 49
9,	26	567 64
18,	22	459 55
Dec. 18,	33	752 02
1849.		
Jan. 16,	22	580 77
	3	77 32
[Total]	240 ⁸	\$5,359 34

[A statement of cotton sold by Hill, McLean, and Company ⁹ during the fall and winter of 1848-1849:] ¹⁰

October 19,	32	1,278.10
November 2,	41	1,468.83
In all, 333 bales were sold by Nalle and Cox for the estate during the fall and winter of 1847-1848, yielding net proceeds of \$10,912.44.		
There are also no vouchers for 863 bales sold by Dick and Hill for the estate during the same period. These yielded net proceeds of \$30,190.72.		
September 27, 1847	62 bales	\$2,879.91
30,	82	3,836.51
October 19,	135	6,082.51
November 8,	92	2,981.68
18,	122	3,714.35
December 9,	131	3,988.56
16,	22	657.16
21,	10	283.89
29,	53	1,512.70
January 18, 1848	42	1,082.14
	25	675.44
February 8,	87	2,495.87

⁷ The form of this account has been changed to delete the amount "Carried over" in the original record.

⁸ A recapitulation for 1849 erroneously states that 250 bales were shipped to Nalle and Cox.

⁹ H. R. W. Hill and James L. McLean, commission merchants, 87 (later 75) Canal Street, New Orleans. New Orleans *Price-Current*, January 8, 1848; *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory*, for 1851, pp. 91, 124.

¹⁰ A portion of this account is compiled from scattered data.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

[1848]		
Sept. 25,	proceeds 100 bales cotton,	2369 33
30,	60	1499 02
Oct. 12,	90	2077 04
Nov. 10,	210	4516 50
16,	65	1412 10
21,	60	1268 66
Dec. 5,	58	1291 57
Oct. 20,	90	2097 29
Dec. 20,	69	1531 97
[1849]		
Jan. 24,	31	822 50
27,	19	487 70
6,	45	1085 90
[Total]	900	\$20,459 58 ¹¹

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co.'s account, . . .

1849.		
Oct. 6,	Proceeds 182 bales cotton,	7816 31
Nov. 1,	191	7633 36
3,	93	3771 73
7,	60	2541 60
Dec. 10,	60	2571 93
	111	4864 81
2,	95	3928 15
[Total]	792 ¹²	\$33,127 89

The estate of Isaac Franklin, cr.,

1849.

In account with Nalle and Cox.

¹¹ In the recapitulation for 1849, the total amount is given as \$30,459.58. This is undoubtedly a typographical error.

¹² In the 1850 recapitulation the number of bales is erroneously stated as 729.

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Dec. 7,	By nett proceeds 194 bales cotton, per account				
	sales rendered,				\$8533 70
22,	Do.,	24	do.,	do.,	1103 40
		<u>218</u>			<u>\$9637 10</u>
	Total credits,				
		218			
E[rrors] E[xcepted], New Orleans, 7th January, 1850.					

2. SALE OF WOOD AND LUMBER

The amount received by James Watson, being the proceeds of the woodyard from the 14th April, 1846, and not accounted for before the death of Mr. Franklin, was (\$578,90,) and the amount paid out by the said Watson, also between the 14th of April and Mr. Franklin's death was (14,25,) showing a balance on hand, the day after Mr. Franklin's death, of five hundred and sixty-four dollars and sixty-five cents,

564 65

The amount received from the same as above, from the 27th of April . . . up to the 1st of May, (there being 119 cords of wood, one old flatboat and other timbers sold,) was four hundred and six dollars and seven cents,

406 07

The amount received in the month of May, for the same as above, (being 785 cords, &c,) was twenty-two hundred and twenty-five dollars.

2,225 00

The amount received from the same source as above, for the month of June, (being 850 cords, &c,) was twenty-one hundred and thirty-eight dollars and fifty cents.

2,138 50

The amount received from the same source as above in July, (being 645 cords, &c,) was fifteen hundred and seventy-four dollars and twenty-five cents,

1,574 25

The amount received from the same source in August, (being 390 cords, &c,) was nine hundred and twenty-seven dollars and seventy-five cents.

927 75

The amount received from the same source in September, (being 317 cords, &c,) was seven hundred and fifty-one dollars and seventy-five cents.

751 75

The amount received from the same source in October, (being 863 cords, &c,) was twenty-three hundred and seventy-six dollars and eighty-four cents.

2376,84

The amount received from the same source in No-

ISAAC FRANKLIN

vember, (being 580½ cords, &c,) was thirteen hundred and seventy-eight dollars.

1378 00

The amount received in December from the same source, (being 809 cords, &c,) was two thousand and nineteen dollars and seventy-five cents.

2,019 75

The amount received in January, and up to the 11th of February, 1847, from the same source was fourteen hundred and ninety-six dollars and twenty-four cents.

1,496 24

[Total]

[\$15,858 80]

Receipts . . . by James Watson at the woodyard, as per his book, to wit: . . .

1847.

April	1	By cash received for wood sold		1073 75
		Old flatboat	50 00	
		Oak timber sold	3 00	
		Sawmill		100 00
May	1	By cash received for wood sold		2297 68
		"		
		Oak timber	238 61	
		from Sawmill		643 00
June	1	" for Wood sold		3552 37
July	1	"		2303 63
Aug.	1	"		908 25
Sept.	1	"		579 75
Oct.	1	"		1845 25
Nov.	1	"		1003 25
	14	"		1177 75
		" Moss sold	346 41	638 02

[Total for wood, moss, etc.]

\$16,122 70

Receipts . . . by Palmer, at the woodyard, since Mr. Watson left town. . . .

1847.

Dec. 18 By cash received for wood sold 837 87

[214]

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

1848.			
Jan. 31	"	"	956 63
Feb. 17	"	"	816 75
29	"	"	387 50
Mar. 31	"	"	938 75
	"	"	710 50
[Total]			4649 00

Amounts received by M. Gilbert at the sawmill, . . .

1847			
May 1	By cash proceeds of sawmill		1170 18
June 1	do do		69 09
July 1	do do		1019 25
Aug. 1	do do		5 41
Oct. 1	do do		15 00
Dec. 14	do do		43 50
21	do do		120 79
1848			
Jan. 14	Draft from Judge Black		210 33
	" McCall		1140 46
	Cash from McM. and O'Brien		606 34
	Cash from R. B. Ratliff, for his account		97 23
	Cash from Dr. Wood		82 00
	Dr. Michel's account, paid in		677 00
	Charles Stewart do		89 10
	do do do		59 40
	Duington do do		32 50
	Courtney do do		15 00
	McFarrin do do		28 50
	McCall and Rock do		1150 00
	Steamer Natchez do		66 81
[Total]			[\$6697 89]

The following are the receipts of M. Gilbert . . . [for lumber], to wit:

ISAAC FRANKLIN

1848.				
April	13,	By Adams, for lumber sold him,		36 00
	28,	McCall and Rock do them,		1,482 06
May	31,	Col. Hopkins, do him,		393 65
June	29,	McCall and Rock, do do,		100 00
Aug.	16,	Col. Williams, do do,		81 85
Oct.	26,	Doct. Smith,		12 60
Nov.	29,	D. Mitchell,		32 40
'49.				
Jan.	22,	Mr. Wright,		2 80
	"	Dr. Jenkins,		47 52
	"	Sundries, poultry, &c., sold off the place,		20 52
[Total]				<u>2,835 40</u>

The following are amounts received by James S. Clack, agent, from wood, &c., sold off the place:

1848.				
April	30,	By am't of wood sold in the month of April,		791 87
May	31,	do do do do May,		493 50
June	22,	do do do do June,		370 00
July	29,	do do do do July,		351 25
Aug.	31,	do do do do Aug.,		300 00
Sept.	29,	do do do do Sept.,		363 75
Oct.	29,	do do do do Oct.,		435 00
Nov.	30,	do do do do Nov.,		2057 50
Dec.	31,	do do do do Dec.,		2033 25
Jan.	31,	do do do do Jan.,		1195 00
Feb.	20,	do do do do Feb.,		1809 50
		do moss do do Sept.,		246 98
[Total]				<u>[\$10,447 60]</u>

Receipts . . . by M. Gilbert, at the sawmill, to wit:

1849.				
Feb.	18,	By amount received from M. B. Torris, for lumber,		137 79

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

20, Watson, Cook & Co., for lumber,	54 93
24, W. B. Ratliff, do,	121 20
April 28, McMurran and O'Brien,	89 90
May 26, S. Whitcomb,	135 00
[Total]	<u>[\$538 82]</u>

[Woodyard receipts for 1849, from a statement by James S. Clack]:

1849.

Feb. 28, By amount received for wood in the month of February,	846 00
Mar. 27, By amount received for wood in the month of March,	706 25
Apl. 26, By amount received for wood in the month of April,	782 00
May 31, By amount received for wood in the month of May,	1,421 00
June 28, By amount received for wood in the month of June,	838 75
July 29, By amount received for wood in the month of July,	1352 00
Aug. 24, By amount received for wood in the month of August,	558 50
Sept. 30, By amount received for wood in the month of September,	962 50
Oct. 30, By amount received for wood in the month of October,	1,313 25
Nov. 29, By amount received for wood in the month of November,	1,598 50
Dec. 23, By amount received for wood in the month of December,	1,044 00
[Total]	<u>[\$11,422 75]</u>

3. SPANISH MOSS

This is to certify, that I have, from time to time, paid to the negroes of the estate of Isaac Franklin, (there under my charge) the following sums, to wit,—it being for moss gathered by them, for which I have always been instructed to pay them by Mr. Franklin during his lifetime,—to wit:

In the month of March, 1847	60 04
“ April “	64 14
“ May “	145 13
“ July “	29 63
“ Sept. “	57 77
Total	<hr/> 350 71

Sworn to and subscribed before me

James Watson.

this 30th Nov., A.D. 1847.

C. B. Beverly, *Justice*.

Saint Louis, 20th April, 1847.

James Watson, Esq.—Dear Sir:

We received, per steamer Magnolia, 10 bales moss, for sale here, for your account. We find that our market, and dealers in the article, is well supplied, at present, and is, therefore, difficult to make quick sale, at good prices. Supposing that you do not want to keep this shipment long in store, or incur extra expense, we will use our utmost endeavors to sell to the highest bidder. The most we have been offered is \$7 per bale. It is not considered clean, and, on examination, find it is wet inside, which prevents the sale very much. Good picked moss brings from 2 to 2½c. per lb. Sometimes, when it is scarce, it sells as high as 4c. We will close this out before return of Magnolia,

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

and remit you proceeds by her. Should you have any more to sell, we shall be glad to receive it.

Yours, very truly,

Hannah Courtney & Co.

Account sales of 10 bales moss, shipped per steamer "Magnolia," and sold for account of James Watson, Esq., by the undersigned.

1847, April 25
10 bales moss

Sold S. Williams,
\$7 50 75 00

Charges:

Paid freight	15 00	
Drayage	1	
Commission on sales 5c	3 75	19 75
Balance due		<u>\$55 25</u>

E[rrors] E[xcepted] Saint Louis, May 7, 1847.

Hannah, Courtney & Co.

Saint Louis, May 7, 1847.

James Watson, Esq.—Dear Sir:

Annexed, we hand you account sales of 10 bales moss, which we hope will prove satisfactory. The balance due you, fifty-five dollars and twenty-five cents, will be handed you by Mr. Charles, clerk of "Magnolia." We regret that we could not get a better price for this your first shipment. Our market is so glutted with the article, that it is almost impossible to sell it at all.

Yours, very respectfully,

Hannah, Courtney & Co.

Nashville, June 25th, 1847.

Mr. O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, dec'd,

To Steamer Tennessee, Dr.

For freight on 16 bales moss, 7100, 40c 28 40

Shipped by Mr. Clack from Bellevue.

Rec'd payment of O. B. Hayes, executor.

C. T. Reeder, Cl'k.

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Sales by P. A. Key,

For account of Mr. J. Watson,

16 bales moss	8012 [lbs.]			
Tare	<u>401</u>	7611	3c	\$228 33

Charges.

Freight to Louisville	8200	2b	20 50	
Drayage			3 00	
Freight and drayage to Cin.			9 50	
Com. on sales		21½c	5 71	38 71
				<u>\$189 62</u>

11 bales moss

1 bale	484	4c	19 36
5 "	2162	4c	86 48
4 "	1640	3½c	57 40
1 small bale sold for			13 00
			<u>176 24</u>

Charges.

Paid freight and drayage to			
Louisville	15 25		
Com. on sales 2½	<u>4 20</u>	19 45	156 79
			<u>\$346 41</u>

E[rrors] E[xcepted] Nov. 3d, 1847,

Geo. W. Bartlett for P. A. Key.

A. L. Davis

Shipped, in good order and well-conditioned, by S. B. Talleyrand, on board the good steamboat May Duke, the following articles, marked and numbered as below, which are to be delivered, without delay, in like good order, at the port of Nashville, (the unavoidable dangers of the river and fire only excepted), unto O. B. Hayes or assigns, he or they paying freight for said goods at the rate of 50[30] cents per 100, with privilege of pushing and towing in lighters at the owner's risk. In witness whereof, the owner, master or clerk of said boat hath affirmed

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

to — bales of lading, of this tenor and date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void. Dated at Nashville, the — day of — 184[8]:

Marks.	Packages.	Weights.
No mark.	16 bales moss.	

W. F. Davis.

Mr. O. B. Hayes,

	To Steamer May Duke,	Dr.
Oct. 27, 1848.	To freight on 16 bales moss, 6969,	
	30c per 100 lbs.	20 90
	Rec'd payment,	

A. L. Davis.

O. B. Hayes, Esq., executor of Isaac Franklin, dec'd,
1848.

	To West & Scott,	Dr.
Nov. 2, Drayage on 16 bales moss		2 00
and delivering the above		2 00
		<hr/> \$4 00

Rec'd payment,

West & Scott.

O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin,

	To Steamer Talleyrand,	Dr.
For freight on 16 bales of moss, from plantation		
in Louisiana to Paducah, weighing 6969 lbs., at 30c		\$20 90
Rec'd payment 6th Nov., 1848.		

B. Dufield,

Clerk for Steamer Talleyrand.

4. PURCHASE AND HIRE OF SLAVES

New Orleans, January 1st, 1848.

\$8000 Forty days after date, please pay to the order of Thomas Williams,¹ eight thousand dollars, for value received,² and charge the same to estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

One of the executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Thos. Williams.

New Orleans, Jan. 4, 1848.

\$3000 At sight, please pay to the order of Newton Bowley³ the sum of three thousand dollars for value received,⁴ and charge the same to account of estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

One of the Executors of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans. . . .

Paid 4th Jan., 1848.

Newton Bowley.

New Orleans, January 4th, 1848.

\$8670 Sixty days after date, please pay to the order of Newton Bowley, Esq., the sum of eight thousand six hundred and seventy

¹ A dealer of Washington, D. C., who sold slaves in New Orleans and Mississippi markets.

² Ten male slaves, at \$800 each, for Loango plantation.

³ Newton Boley, a trader of Winchester, Virginia, who sold slaves at New Orleans and Natchez. To avoid Mississippi's prohibitory law of 1837, he operated for a time at Vidalia, Louisiana, across the river from Natchez. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi*, 168.

⁴ In partial payment of fifteen male slaves all but one of whom were valued at \$780. As the next entry indicates, the balance was paid by a sixty-day draft drawn upon Hill, McLean, and Company.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

dollars, for value received, and charge the same to account of estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

One of the executors of the estate of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.
To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Newton Bowley.

New Orleans, January 4th, 1848.

\$3900 Twenty days after date, please pay to Messrs. Kephant and Harbin ⁵ the sum of three thousand nine hundred dollars, for value received,⁶ and charge the same to account of estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

One of the executors of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.
To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Kephant and Harbin.

John Armfield, one of the executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased,
1848. To A. C. Ainsworth, Notary Public.

January	For act of sale of 10 negroes, for Loango	
	plantation, for 2 copies	12 00
	For do same for 15 do	12 00
	For do do 5 do	12 00

Received payment,	\$36 00
-------------------	---------

A. C. Ainsworth, Not. Pub.

New Orleans, January 7th, 1848.

⁵ George Kephart and Horatio G. Harbin. In the early thirties, Kephart was a trader at Frederick, Maryland, and an agent of Franklin and Armfield. In 1837 he purchased the firm's establishment on Duke Street in Alexandria, and he also bought their slaver, the *Isaac Franklin*, for the New Orleans traffic. Probably in the forties he formed a partnership with Harbin who negotiated the sale of slaves to Armfield in 1848. Kephart's New Orleans address in 1849 was 14 Moreau Street. Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 65; *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 98.

⁶ Five male slaves, valued at \$780 each.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

The Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To B. C. Eaton.

Dr.

To board of five negro men ⁷ 8 days, 30c

\$12 00

Received payment from John Armfield, executor of said estate.

B. C. Eaton.

New Orleans, 18th January, 1848.

The Succession of Isaac Franklin, dec'd, in Louisiana,

To Adelia Franklin,

Dr.

For the use and hire of the following slaves, to wit:—Stephen, Luke and his wife, Brutus and his wife, Lee Mark and woman, for 18 months, ending on the 26th January, 1848; the use of which slaves was bequeathed to her by the will of her deceased husband. Said slaves having been transferred by William Franklin, surviving trustee, to the executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased, in Louisiana; and with his consent, out from the plantation in Sumner County, Tennessee, to the plantation in Louisiana, for the benefit of the latter plantation, and to be considered as part of the slaves which said executors have directed to purchase for said estate in Louisiana; six men, at the rate of ten dollars per month, say eighteen months,

\$1080 00

No charge made for the women.

.

\$1080 00 Hill, McLean and Co. will please pay the within account of one thousand and eighty dollars, and charge estate of Isaac Franklin.

2nd February, 1848.

John Armfield, }
O. B. Hayes, } Executors.

Adelia Franklin.

Paid 3rd February, 1848.

⁷ These were probably the five slaves purchased from Kephart and Harbin on January 4. Elsewhere in the printed record it is indicated that the slaves were boarded in New Orleans. *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 139.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Received of John Armfield, one of the executors of the late Isaac Franklin, eight dollars, my notarial fees for act of exchange of slave "James Corn,"⁸ for slave Jas. Alphin.

A. C. Ainsworth, Not. Pub.

New Orleans, Feb. 17, 1848.

Rec'd of John Armfield, New Orleans, March 1st, 1848, eleven dollars, for an act of sale, and two copies, of slave "Harry,"⁹ aged 22 years, for the "Loango" plantation, in West Feliciana.

A. C. Ainsworth, Not. Pub.

November 14-15, 1848.

Estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,

To Dunlap and Harmon, att'ys, Dr.

To professional services, in obtaining discharge of the slave Abe Smith, charged with attempting to burn and break the jail of the parish of Jefferson, La., fifty dollars,¹⁰ \$50 00

Received payment of John Armfield, executor.

Dunlap and Harmon, per J. Dunlap.

New Orleans, Nov. 15th, '48.

\$3504 19.

New Orleans, Feb'y 19th, 1849.

Forty days after sight, please pay Mr. Thomas Boudar, or order, thirty-five hundred and four dollars and nineteen cents, for value received, and charge the same to account of estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

Executor of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.

To Messers, Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Pay to the La. State Bank. . . .

Thomas Boudar.

Accepted, 20th Feb'y, 1849.

Hill, McLean & Co.

⁸ One of the slaves purchased from Kephart and Harbin on January 4, 1848.

⁹ Harry was purchased of William B. Blanchard of Sumner County, Tennessee, for \$825 cash.

¹⁰ For a discussion of other such items, for which there are no separate vouchers, see Chap. VII.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, }
 STATE OF LOUISIANA, }
 City of New Orleans,

Before me, Albert Child Ainsworth, a notary public in and for this city and the parish of Orleans, duly commissioned and sworn, and in the presence of the witnesses hereafter named and undersigned, personally appeared, Thomas Bondar,¹¹ Esq., (unmarried,) of the city of New Orleans, who declared that for, and in consideration of, the sum and price of forty-six hundred and seventy-five dollars, payable as hereinafter expressed, he does, by these presents, grant, bargain, sell and convey, with guarantee against all debts, mortgages, claims, evictions, alienations and other incumbrances whatsoever, and also with complete guarantee against all the vices and maladies prescribed by the laws of Louisiana, unto John Armfield of Sumner County, in the State of Tennessee, present, purchasing and accepting the same, and acknowledging due delivery and possession thereof; seven certain slaves for life, now declared and warranted by the said vendor to be his true and lawful property, clear of all incumbrances, in the name of the present or any previous owner of said slaves, which are of the names, ages, sexes, colors and agreed value, as hereinafter set forth:

Names.	Color.	Age.	Value.
Phillis Franklin,	black,	19,	\$725 00
Francis Blackburn,	brown,	18,	675 00
Mary Jane Hunter,	black,	18,	700 00
Julia Downing,	brown,	20,	625 00
Cecelia Blunt,	brown,	16,	650 00
Lucretia Wheafield,	black,	16,	675 00
Keria Coleman,	brown,	15,	625 00
			<hr/> \$4,675 00

This present sale is made for, and in consideration of, the said sum of forty-six hundred and seventy-five dollars, in present payment and liquidation of which, the purchaser has handed to the vendor, who acknowledges its delivery, two certain drafts, dated February 19th, 1849, drawn by John Armfield, one of the execu-

¹¹ Thomas Boudar.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

tors of Isaac Franklin, deceased, one for the sum of eleven hundred and seventy 81-100 dollars, payable at sight, upon the firm of Nalle and Cox, and the other for the sum of thirty-five hundred and four 19-100 dollars, payable forty days after sight, upon the firm of Hill, McLean & Co.

The said purchases, made by the said John Armfield, in execution of instructions given in the will of the late Isaac Franklin, under the "fourth item thereof," and the said slaves, (valued as above named,) are to be placed on the "Panola plantation," in the parish of West Feliciana, in this State, as therein directed, and the titles are held by the said Armfield, to be transferred at the termination of his executorship, to the heirs, according to law—the said negroes being purchased as belonging to the said estate. By reference to a certificate dated this day, from the recorder of mortgages in and for this parish, and hereunto annexed, it will appear that said slaves are free of all incumbrance in the name of the vendor; to have and to hold the said slaves unto the said purchaser, his heirs and assigns, to their proper use and behoof forever. And the said vendor, for himself and his heirs, shall and will warrant, and forever defend the said slaves against the legal claim or claims of all and every person or persons whomsoever, by these presents; and the said vendor hereby moreover subrogates said purchaser to all his rights and actions of warranty against his own and all previous vendors of said slaves, to exercise said rights and actions in the same manner as he, said Boudar, might have done.

Thus done and passed, at my office, in the city of New Orleans, in the presence of William Shannon and R. de Armas, witnesses, who hereunto sign their names, together with the parties and me, notary, this twentieth day of February eighteen hundred and forty-nine.

(Original signed) Thomas Bondar, John Armfield, William Shannon, Ros. de Armas; A. C. Ainsworth, Not. Pub.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original extant in my current registry.

In faith whereof, I grant these presents under my official signature and seal, this 20th February, 1849.

A. C. Ainsworth, *Not. Pub.*

ISAAC FRANKLIN

\$4050

New Orleans, Feb'y 19th, 1849.

Forty days after sight, please pay Mr. George Davis,¹² or order, four thousand and fifty dollars, value received,¹³ and charge the same to account of estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

Executor of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.

To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Geo. Davis.

Accepted, 21st Feb'y, 1849.

Hill, McLean & Co.

\$4584.

New Orleans, Feb'y 19th, 1849.

Thirty days after sight, please pay Walter L. Campbell,¹⁴ or order, forty-five hundred and eighty-four dollars, value received,¹⁵ and charge the same to account of estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

Executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans. . . .

Walter L. Campbell.

Accepted, 20th Feb'y, 1849.

Hill, McLean & Co.

\$20.

New Orleans, Feb'y 20th, 1849.

Received, of Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., twenty dollars, the

¹² According to Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 92, Davis was a trader of Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1845. Earlier, in 1829 and 1830, he had consigned shipments of slaves from Alexandria to Franklin in New Orleans. See Chap. VI.

¹³ For six female slaves, eighteen to twenty-two, valued at \$670 each. The bill of sale is available in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 876-78.

¹⁴ The Campbells, B. M. and Walter L., were among the foremost traders of the 1850's. The elder brother managed the firm's business in Baltimore, the junior member in New Orleans. For a brief discussion of their operations, see Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 121, 316-17. The New Orleans establishment was at 28 Esplanade, *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* . . . for 1849, p. 33.

¹⁵ For seven female slaves, two of them with infant children, six of the adults valued at \$664, the seventh at \$600. The bill of sale is available in *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 878-80.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

same being for my services, in examining twenty negroes, purchased for the estate of Isaac Franklin.

John J. Franklin.¹⁶

Feb'y 20, '49.

John Armfield, Esq., executor of the estate of I. Franklin,	
1849.	To A. C. Ainsworth, Not. Pub.
Feb. 20, For sale of six slaves, by George Davis,	
and two copies,	12 00
For do. of nine slaves, by W. L. Campbell,	
and two copies,	12 00
For do. of seven slaves, by Thomas Boudar,	
and two copies,	12 00
Received payment.	\$36 00
	A. C. Ainsworth, Per R. DeArmas.
<i>Paid 7th March, 1849.</i>	

Estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,	
To Bertrand Haralson, Recorder,	Dr.
For recording following documents, to wit:	
"Thomas Williams to sale of slaves to John Armfield,"	\$1 50
N. Boley, do do	1 50
Kephart and Harbin, do	1 50
Same, to exchange, do	1 50
U. B. Blanchard, to sale, do	1 50
Amount due, May 12th, 1848,	\$7 50
"Walter L. Campbell to Jno. Armfield,	1 50
George Davis, do	1 50
"Thomas Boudar, do	1 50
Amount due May 12th, 1849,	\$4 50
Total amount,	\$12 00
Received payment in full. . . .	

B. Haralson, Recorder.

¹⁶ A New Orleans physician, St. Charles and Common streets. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 69.

5. PHYSICIANS' VISITS

Plantations of the late lamented Mr. Isaac Franklin, dec'd.

[1846]

To Dr. L. Gee,¹ Dr.

March	16th. Visit and prescription,	\$9 00
	17th. do. do.	9 00
	17th. Visit to boy at wood yard,	5 00
	18th. Visit and prescription for two,	10 00
	19th. Visit and prescription,	9 00
	27th. Visit and prescription,	10 00
April	1st. Call visit,	5 00
	8th. Visit and prescription,	9 00
	9th. Visit and prescription for two,	10 00
	10th. do. do. do.	10 00
May	10th. Visit and prescription,	9 00
June	13th. Visit and prescription, nocte,	20 00
	14th. Visit and prescription,	9 00
	15th. Visit and prescription,	9 00
	16th. do. do.	9 00
	17th. do. do.	9 00
	18th. do. do.	9 00
	21st & 22d, Visit and prescription; nocte and prescription, (morning.)	25 00
	23d. Visit and prescription,	13 00
	27th. Visit and prescription,	20 00

¹ "Dr. [Lucas] Gee informs the public [March 18, 1842, *et seq.*] that he has returned to West Feliciana, and resumed the practice of his profession. He has located himself at the residence of Mrs. Mulford, on Bayou Sara, where he can be found at all times, unless professionally engaged." *St. Francisville Louisiana Chronicle*, July 8, 1843.

Subsequently, Dr. Gee removed to Pinckneyville, Mississippi, about seven miles east of Fort Adams. In 1852 Dr. T. A. Sheppard announced that he had located at Pinckneyville with his "Office at the residence of the late Dr. Lucas Gee." *Bayou Sara Ledger*, February 28, 1852.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

July	5th, Visit and prescription,	9 00
	6th, Visit and prescription,	9 00
	7th, Visit and prescription,	9 00
	" Leeches, (100)	3 00
	" Pre[scription] boy,	1 00
	9th, Visit and prescription	9 00
	" Visits and continued attendance on wound in the neck, 10th, 12th, 15th, 18th, 20th, 23d and 27th August	50 00
	12th, Visit and prescription,	9 00
	29th, Visit and prescription,	10 00
Aug.	1st, Visit and prescription, two	10 00
	18th, do. do. three,	11 00
	19th, do. do. four,	12 00
	20th, do. do. four,	12 00
	21st, do. do. two,	10 00
	22d. do. do. two,	10 00
Sept.	1st, Visit and prescription, three,	15 00
	5th, Visit and prescription, three,	11 00
	6th, Visit and prescription, two	10 00
	8th, do. do.	9 00
	13th, do. do. two,	10 00
	14th, do. do. two,	10 00
	15th, do. do. two,	10 00
	22d, do. do. three	15 00
Oct.	9th, Visit and prescription,	9 00
	27th, Visit and prescription, three,	11 00
	29th, do. do. three,	11 00
	31st, do. do. two,	10 00
Nov.	7th, Visit and prescription,	9 00
	27th, Visit and prescription,	14 00
	28th, Visit and prescription,	13 00
		<hr/>
		\$559 00
		<hr/>
		Reduced by contract, 59 00
		<hr/>
		\$500 00

Received payment in full, Jan. 23d, 1847.

Lucas Gee.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased, 1846.	To Dr. Lucas Gee, Dr.
Attendance to, and embalming the body of, the aforesaid late lamented Isaac Franklin	\$500 00

Executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased.	To John Farrell, ² M. D., Dr.
For medical services in attending upon the children of Mr. Franklin, since his death,	\$40 00
Received payment in full, this 4th January, 1847, from John Armfield, one of the executors.	
5th January, 1847.	Farrell.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co.,

Please pay to the order of Doctor Lewis S. Beverly one hundred and eight dollars, it being for medical services rendered on Killarney plantation, and charge to acc't of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant,

Jan. 5th, 1848.	James S. Clack, Agent.
Lewis S. Beverly,	J. Beaumont.

Paid 7th January 1848.

[1848]

Dec. 4, Doct. W. D. Smith's ³ bill for medical services, 16th June,	18 00
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1849.

Jan. 1, Doct. Francis Barnes, ⁴ for medical services,	226 00
Doct. Barkers' account for medical services,	24 00

² Located at 51 Canal Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 244.

³ Probably Dr. J. D. Smith of Bayou Sara, Louisiana. See the *Bayou Sara Ledger*, February 28, 1852.

⁴ Listed as a student at Charity Hospital, New Orleans, in 1846. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 64.

6. DRUGS AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES

Estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,

				To Andrew Oliver, & Co., ¹	Dr.
1846					
April	18,	4	doz. pills,	11½b.	75
		2	oz. salt tartar,	1b.	25
		2	oz. pulv[erized] gum Arabic,	10c.	20
	20,	2	oz. do. do. do.	10c.	20
	21,	10	lbs. starch,	1b.	1 25
		½	lb. indigo, No. 1,	14b.	88
June	9,	24	oz. quinine,	3 50c.	84 00
			box 3b., drayage	2b.	62
July	8,	5	lbs. jalap,	10b.	6 25
		5	lbs. cream tartar	3b.	1 88
July	8,	5	lb. aloes,	4b.	2 50
		45	flaxseed, keg 3b.,	10c.	4 87
			box and drayage,		50
August	6,	1	lb. calomel, English,	2 75c.	2 75
		37½	gals. castor oil,	96c.	33 75
		5	lb. gum arabic,	6b.	3 75
			drayage	2b.	25
Sept.	8,	36	oz. quinine,	3 00	108 00
		2	drachms morphine,	8b.	2 00
		4	oz. Dover's powder [ipecac and opium],	11½b.	75
		5	lb. alum,	10c.	50
		1	sugar lead,	3b.	38
		2	oz. pulv[erized] opium,	6b.	1 50
			box 3b., portage 2b.		62
Oct.	21,	1	lb. calomel, English,	2 50c.	2 50
		1	bot. laudanum,	2 00c.	2 00

¹ Druggists, corner Chartres and Bienville streets, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 450.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

		1/2	doz. court plaster,	8b.	50
		1/4	lb. lint[ine],	2 00	50
Nov.	24.	5	gals. spirits turpentine, can 8b.,	8b.	6 00
		1	doz. opodeldoc,	10b.	1 25
		1/2	doz. British oil,	8b.	50
		1	bot. No. 6,	8b.	1 00
		4	lb. magnesia,	6b.	3 00
		5	alum,	10c.	50
		2	pulv[erized] gum arabic,		
			bot. 2b.,	8b.	2 25
		2	bots. spirits nitre,	6b.	1 50
		1	essence peppermint,	6b.	75
		4	paregoric,	10b.	5 00
		1	laudanum,	2 00c.	2 00
		2	spirits hartshorn,	6b.	1 50
		6	oz. quinine,	3 00c.	18 00
		1/2	doz. Kentucky mustard,	2b.	1 50
			box 6b., drayage 2b.,		1 00
Dolls.					309 65

New Orleans, Jan. 7, 1847.

Received payment.

J. A. Somers, for A. Oliver & Co.

Messrs. Dick and Hill will please pay the within bill, and charge the same to estate of Isaac Franklin.

O. B. Hayes, }
John Armfield, } Executors.

Estate Isaac Franklin, Esq., deceased.

	1846.		To Andrew Oliver & Co.,	Dr.
April	17.	1 pint castor oil,	35c.	35
	18.	1/2 lb. cream tartar,	3b.	19
May	1.	1 flaxseed,	2b.	25
		1 sup[er?] carb[onate] soda,	4b.	50
		1 cream tartar,	3b.	37
City account.			Dolls.	1 66

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

New Orleans, January 6, 1847.

Received payment.

J. A. Somers, for A. Oliver & Co.

Estate Isaac Franklin, Esq., dec'd,

To Andrew Oliver & Co., Dr.

1846

May	26	43 vials kreosote	6b	3 00
		1 doz olive oil		5 00
		1 doz iodine	12b	1 50
		1 doz lunar caustic	12b	1 50
		1 doz pulv[erized] opium	6b	75
		1 lb senna	4b	50
		1 lb manna	8b	1 00

1847

Jan'y.	26	1 lb adhesive plaster	6b	75
		4 saltpetre	15c	60
		12 ozs. quinine	3 00	36 30
		4 wormseed oil, 1 oz vials	3b	1 50
		1 spring lancet	10b	1 25
		4 lbs gum camphor	6b	3 00
		4 bots paregoric	10b	5 00
		2 vials pile lotion	8b	2 00
		4 lbs calomel, English	2 50	10 00
		Box 4b, drayage 2b		75
July	24	12 ozs quinine	3 25	39 00
		4 Dover's powders	1b	75
		2 elixir vitriol	1b	25
		2 lbs pleurisy root	6b	1 50
		2 pulv[erized] valerian, English	12b	3 00
		4 pulv[erized] rhubarb,	8b	4 00
		1/4 lb opium	7 00	1 75
		3 bots No. 6	8b	3 00
		1/2 lb Prussian blue	12b	75
		1 doz female syringes	4b	4 00
		1/2 glass pessaries	7 00	3 50
		1 doz mustard, Kentucky,	2 00	2 00
		3 lbs African pepper	4b	1 00

ISAAC FRANKLIN

	2	bots balsam copavia	10b	2 50
	2	lbs snakeroot, Virginia	4b	1 00
	2	seneka	6b	1 50
	2	alum	1b	25
	1	tartaric acid	6b	75
	1	ext[ract] colocynth	4b	4 00
	1/2	gro assorted vials	3 50	1 75
	1/2	corks	2b	13
	2	lbs blister ointment	10b	2 50
		Box 6b, drayage 2b		1 00
August 30	1	lb calomel, English	2 50	2 50
	4	cream tartar	35	1 40
	4	calcined magnesia, botls	12b	6 00
	1	sugar lead	35	35
	2	gum arabic	8b	2 00
	2	prepared chalk	2b	50
	4	ginger-root	15	60
	2	arrow-root	2b	50
	2	ext[ract] licorice	3b	75
	1/2	blue stone	2b	13
	2	pink root	5b	1 25
	1	bot sweet spirits nitre	6b	75
	1	laudanum	2 00	2 00
	2	antimonial wine	8b	2 00
	1	lb nitric acid, box 3b	4b	87
	85	lbs Epsom salts, keg 3b	7c	6 33
	4	ozs oil peppermint	3b	1 50
	1	Evan's lancet	8b	1 00
		Box 4b, packing 2b		75
Sept. 28	12	ozs quinine	3 50	42 00
	3	bots bals[am] wild cherry	8b	2 00
	1	McNair's acoustic oil	8b	1 00
		box 3b, drayage	2b	63
Nov. 2	36	gals castor oil	12b	54 00
	4	ozs oil lemon	3b	1 50
		Drayage		25

\$286 54

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

New Orleans, March 29, 1848.

Estate of Isaac Franklin.

	To Doctor King, ²	Dr.
To one paper of vaccine matter,		\$5.
Received payment, from John Armfield, executor.		
Received payment,	W. W. King, M. D.	

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To Thos. Langridge, ³	Dr.
1848.		
Jan. 31,	33 gals. castor oil and dray., 2, \$1 50	49 75
	1 turnkey \$2, 1 pr. forceps \$1,	3 00
	1 gum lancet \$1, 1 spring lancet \$1 25,	2 25
		—
		55 00
Mar. 6,	5 lbs. Eng. calomel \$11 25, 12 lbs. ipe-	
	cac \$15,	26 25
	12 lbs. rhubarb \$12, 12 lbs. cream tar-	
	tar, \$4 20,	16 20
	5 lbs. magnesia \$2 50, 5 lbs. bals. co-	
	pavia \$5,	7 50
	5 bots. paregoric \$6 25, 5 bots. elix[ir]	
	vitriol \$4 38,	10 63
	2 lbs. borax 6b., 5 lbs. alum 10c., 50c.,	1 25
	5 doz. opodeldoc \$5, 5 bots. No. 6,	
	\$3 75,	8 75
	10 lbs. sugar lead \$2 50, 5 lbs. snake	
	root \$1 50,	4 00
	5 bots. hartshorn \$3 13, 5 bots.	
	sp[iri]ts nitre \$3 12,	6 25
	180 lbs. Epsom salts \$9, 10 lbs. camphor	
	\$7 50,	16 50
	12 oz. quinine \$39, 34 lbs. castile soap	
	\$6 80,	45 80

² Located at 20 Union Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* . . . for 1849, p. 100.

³ Druggist, 17 Canal Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 104.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

		1 lb. opium \$6, 10 gals. turpentine and can \$9 50,	15 50	
		10 lbs. ginger \$1 50, 1¼ lbs. Dover's powder \$3 75,	5 25	
		1 doz ½ lb. Kentucky mustard,	4 00	
		5 lbs. Cayenne pepper \$2 50, 5 bots. ess[ence] pepp[ermint] \$3 13,	5 63	
		Boxes and drayage,	1 75	
			<hr/>	175 26
May	1,	8 lbs. pow[dere]d jalap and box 2b., a 10b.,	10 25	
	29,	3 large trusses, 10b.,	3 75	
		1 small do,	1 00	
		2 yds. adhesive plaster, 4b.,	1 00	
			<hr/>	16 00
June	26,	24 oz. quinine \$3 25, \$78, 1 spring lan- cet \$1 50,	79 50	
		Box and drayage,	50	
			<hr/>	80 00
July	13,	2 bots. laudanum \$3, ½ doz. sweet oil, \$3 50,	6 50	
July	13,	6 bottles sp[iri]ts. hartshorn, \$4 50, 6 bottles No. 6, \$4 50	9 00	
		4 lbs. gum arabic, \$3, 4 lbs. powdered bark, \$3	6 00	
		4 lbs. arrow-root, \$2, 1 lb. blue mass, \$1 25	3 75	
		5 bottles Carpenter's sarsap[arilla], \$5, 1 oz. iod[ide] iron, \$1 25	6 25	
		Box and drayage,	1 25	
			<hr/>	32 75
Sept.	4,	24 oz. quinine (advanced) 3 50	84 00	
		1 box scales and weights, \$1 25, 1 set weights, 25c	1 50	
		Box and drayage	50	
Sept.	18,	4 bottles sp[iri]ts. nitre, \$2 50, 4 lbs. blister plaster, \$6	8 50	
		1 doz. ½ lb. Ky. mustard, \$4 25, 4 bottles laudanum, \$6	10 25	

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

	4 oz. acid prussic, \$3, 1 lb. camphor,		
	75c	3 75	
	4 oz. carb[onate] ammon[ia] and bot.		
	30c, 6 lbs. snakeroot, \$2 25	2 55	
	4 oz. Iod[ide] iron, \$6, 1 scarificator,		
	\$6	12 00	
	1 thumb lancet, \$1, 1 speculum, \$15	16 00	
	4 bottles paregoric, \$5, 1 8 oz. gradu-		
	ate, \$1 25	6 25	
		<hr/>	145 30
Nov. 13,	2 lbs. English calomel, \$5, 4 oz. oil		
	pepp[e]r[min]t, \$1 50	6 50	
	23 lbs. flaxseed and keg, \$1 99, 2 oz.		
	tart[ar] emet[ic], 38c	2 37	
	2 oz. tinct[ure] canthar[ides], 25c, 5		
	bottles ant[imonial] wine, \$5	5 25	
	6 bottles No. 6, \$4 50, 6 bottles		
	sp[iri]ts nitre, \$3 75	8 25	
	8 lbs. pow[dere]d jalap and box,		
	\$10 25, 10 lbs. alum, \$1	11 25	
	5 lbs. blue mass and p[o]ts., \$8 12, 4		
	lbs. sulphur, 40c	8 25	
	2 doz. Fahnestocks vermifuge, \$2 50	5 00	
	1/2 doz. Kurls do	1 25	
	4 oz. opium, \$1 75, 2 oz. lunar caus-		
	tic, \$2 50	4 25	
	Box and drayage,	1 00	
		<hr/>	53 64
1849.			
Jan. 9,	6 bottles laudanum, \$9, 6 bottles pare-		
	goric, \$7 50	16 50	
	4 lbs. camphor, \$3, 1 set scales and		
	weights, \$1 25	4 25	
	2 galls. alcohol and can, 5b., at 7b.	2 38	
	Box and drayage,	75	
15,	2 large Hulls trusses, \$2 50	5 00	28 88
		<hr/>	\$586 83

ISAAC FRANKLIN

New Orleans, Jan'y 1st, 1849.

Estate I. Franklin, dec'd,

Bought of Hu. Kennedy, ⁴

1848.

Jan'y	19,	4 lbs. calomel, English, at \$2 50,	10 00
		2 bottles balsam wild cherry, at 8b.	2 00
Feb.	4,	1 German silver spring lancet, at \$2 50,	2 50
			<hr/> \$14 50

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Thomas Langridge.

1849.

March	8,	12 oz. sulphate quinine,	3 75	45 00
		5 bots. antimonial wine,	8b.,	5 00
		4 oz. precipitated carb[onate]		
		iron,		20
		5 best olive oil,	5b.,	3 12
		1 oz. lunar caustic,		1 50
		1 lb. nitrate potash, pub.,		20
		4 lbs. magnesia,	4b.,	2 00
		4 lbs. gum acacia, opt.,		3 50
		1 yd. adhesive plast[er],		50
		1 lb. borax,		50
		Box and drayage,		88
				<hr/>
				\$62 40
April	6,	5 lbs. Cayenne and jar,	3b. 4b.,	1 88

⁴ Hugh Kennedy, apothecary, 64 Chartres Street, New Orleans, succeeded Andrew Oliver and Company. A partnership, Kennedy & Fitzpatrick, was formed later in 1849 and advertised as wholesale and retail dealers in drugs, surgical instruments, perfumery, chemicals, and brushes of several varieties. The company notified "their customers and the public that they have greatly increased their Stock, by purchases made under the supervision of the senior partner, during his recent visit to the Northern Cities, and are now prepared to sell on as favorable terms as any other house in the Southern Trade." Prescriptions would be "carefully put up, And Medicine Chests filled or replenished." *New-Orleans Pictorial Advertiser*, for 1849, p. 10.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

		1 doz. Cannon's cholera mixture,	18 00	
		Box, &c.,	50	
			<hr/>	20 38
25,		1 spring lancet,	1 50	
		3 1/2 gals. castor oil,	1 50 47 25	
		5 lbs. saltpetre,	15c., 75	
		8 lbs. saleratus, jar 2b., 1b.,	1 25	
		5 lbs. Eng. calomel,	2 50, 12 50	
		12 oz. quinine,	3 75, 45 00	
		1 lb. tinct[ur]e mur[iate] iron,	1 00	
		1 lb. tinct[ur]e myrrh,	75	
		4 oz. Dover's powders,	75	
		5 bots. antimonial wine, 8b.,	5 00	
		12 doz. A. B. Fahnestock's vermifuge,		
		\$2,	24 00	
		1 btl. black ink,	50	
		1 doz. 1/2 pt. cans mustard,	5 50	
		Box and drayage	1 00	
			<hr/>	146 75
May	4,	2 lbs. tinct[ur]e catech[ue] and bot.,	1 50	
		2 lbs. do kreo[sote] and bot.,	1 50	
		1 lb. do iodine and bot.,	2 00	
		6 bots. No. 6,	6b., 4 50	
		6 boxes Gray's ointment, 4b.,	3 00	
		4 oz. ergot,	75	
		4 lbs. saltpetre,	50	
		4 lbs. sulphur,	1b., 50	
		1/2 doz. Sand's sarsaparilla,	6 00	
		Box and drayage,	85	
			<hr/>	20 10
July	6,	6 bots. paregoric,	10b., 7 50	
		4 oz. oil pennyroyal, \$1, 1 bot boscte.		
		[borosilicate?]	5b., 1 63	
		4 lbs. sulphur, 1b., 50c., 4 lbs. ginger,		
		15c.,	60c., 1 10	
		1 lb. blue mass, \$1 75, 4 lbs. alum,		
			40c., 2 15	
		12 oz. quinine,	3 75, 45 00	

ISAAC FRANKLIN

		1½ doz. Kentucky mustard,		2 50	
		Box and drayage,		75	
				<hr/>	60 63
Aug.	20,	24 oz. sulp[hate] quinine,	3 75	90 00	
		4 lbs. pulv[erized] ipecac,	12b.,	6 00	
		5 bots. sp[iri]ts hartshorn,	6b.,	3 75	
		Box and drayage,		75	
				<hr/>	100 50
Sept'r.	3,	1 small truss,			1 50
Oct'r.	1,	½ doz. old Jacob Townsend's,			
		sarsap[arilla] and box,			5 50
	8,	12 oz. sulp[hate] quinine,	\$4,	48 00	
		2 lbs. calomel,	2 50,	5 00	
		2 oz. kreosote,	6b.,	1 50	
		1 lb. ext[ract] colocynth,		3 50	
		4 carb[onate] magnesia,	4b.,	2 00	
		5 lbs. camphor,	6b.,	3 75	
		2 lbs. blue mass,	1 75,	3 50	
		5 bots. number six,	6b.,	3 75	
		5 do sp[iri]ts. nitre,	6b.,	3 75	
		2 do syrup squills,	10b.,	2 50	
		2 gals alcohol, and can	5b., 7b.,	2 38	
		4 lbs. gum acacia, opt.,	7b.,	3 50	
		4 oz. red precip[itate],		62	
		5 lbs. blister plaster,	\$2,	10 00	
		Box and drayage,		1 00	
				<hr/>	94 75
Nov.	5,	1 glass syringe,		50	
	19,	1 do,		50	
	26,	2 oz. lunar caustic,	1 50	3 00	
				<hr/>	4 00
		Received payment,			\$516 51
		Thomas Langridge.			

7. STAPLE PLANTATION SUPPLIES

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To Peters and Millard, ¹	Dr.
1846.		
April 21.	6 lbs tobacco at 80c, 1 bbl sugar 258 lb	22 86
	1 box bl[ac]k tea 8 lb at 8c, 1 bbl crushed	
	sugar 217 lb at 13½c	37 29
	2 boxes candles 67½ lb at 29c	19 58
	½ lb 4b 47 15 almonds at 18c	8 96
	1 box raisins 18b, 6 jars prunes 14b	12 75
	1 box preserves \$12, 1 doz guava \$2	14 00
	12 boxes sardines 90c, 2 bxs claret 8c	26 80
	Drayage	25
		\$184 12

Received by J. S. Clack.

July 1.	2 galls brandy 2 50, demijohn 6b	6 75
7.	1 box sp[erm] candles 34½ lb, at 30c	10 35
	84 lb loaf sugar, bbl 4b, 13½c	
	drayage 2b	12 09
		22 44
		\$212 31

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co. will please pay the above account and charge the same to account of Estate of Isaac Franklin.

March 4th, 1848.

John Armfield.

¹ Samuel J. Peters and Charles Millard, grocers, corner Bienville and Old Levee streets, New Orleans. Peters was prominent in New Orleans politics and served as president of the New Orleans City Bank. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 421, 465; appendix, 58; *New Orleans Price-Current*, January 8, 1848.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Invoice pork shipped by Dick and Hill, per steamer "Paul Jones," consigned to M. Gilbert, "Bellevue," and for account and risk Isaac Franklin, deceased.

Bought of John Ferguson,²

20 bbls. mess pork, at 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ c.	182 50	
Drayage,	2 00	184 50
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Commission,		4 61
		<hr/>
Debit Isaac Franklin, deceased,		\$189 11

Dick and Hill, per James Brandt.

New Orleans, 26th June, '46.

Executors of Isaac Franklin.

[July 14, 1846.]

Bought of William Owen.

10,000 lbs. of bacon, to wit:

250 sides, and 133 shoulders, at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	\$450 00
14 hogsheads, at 50c.	7 00
Drayage,	1 75
	<hr/>
	\$458 75

Invoice bacon, &c., shipped by Dick and Hill, per Cora, consigned to James Watson, Esq., for account and risk of estate Isaac Franklin.

Bought of J. and R. Geddes,³

10 casks bacon sides, 7194, at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	395 67
2 shoulders, 1657, at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 00
Drayage,	1 50—455 17

Bought of McAlpin and Tagert,⁴

² Probably John Ferguson, Jr., sometime of the firm of Ferguson & O'Dowd, commission merchants, 84 Tchoupitoulas Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 64.

³ Produce merchants, 102 Tchoupitoulas Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 272. In 1849 the two were listed as "agents for N. O. and Mobile Daily U. S. mail line" with offices at 12 Bank Place. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 73.

⁴ Robert M. McAlpin (McAlphin) and Joseph Tagert, grocers, corner Common and New Levee streets, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 402, 543.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

10 lbs. black tea, at \$1,	10 00	
Drayage,	25	10 25
2½c. commission,		11 63
Debit estate Isaac Franklin,		<u>\$477 05</u>
	Dick and Hill, per C. J. Estlin.	
New Orleans, 14th July, '46.		

Nashville, September 26, 1846.

Executors of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of John W. Martin,⁵

For the Bellevue Plantation:

1680 lbs. bacon, at 4½ cents per lb.,	\$76 60
365 lbs. shoulders, 4	14 60
2 hogsheads, 1 00	2 00
1 cask, to pack shoulders,	75
	<u>\$92 95</u>

Received payment of O. B. Hayes, executor,

September 28, 1846.

Jno. W. Martin. By J. C. Harris.

\$922 74

Nashville, Nov. 7, 1846. No.—.

At sight, pay to the order of Geo. McGregor,⁶ Esq., agent, nine hundred and twenty-two dollars and seventy-four cents, value received, and charge the same to account of supplies for the Bellevue plantation,

O. B. Hayes, Executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

To Messrs. Dick & Hill, New Orleans.

Paid, 19th Nov., 1846.

George McGregor, Agent.

⁵ Although this item is dated at Nashville, it may have been ordered through John Martin of Martin, Pleasants & Co., commission merchants, 92 Common Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 396.

⁶ Located at 87 Common Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 116.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

New Orleans, January 7, 1847.

Executors of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Dudley and Nelson.⁷

1 hhd. fine sugar, 1205-120-1085, at 71¼,	\$78 68
5 bags Rio coffee, 820, at 8,	65 60
1 demj. fine brandy, demj., 6b., 2 gal. 450,	5 75
Drayage,	50

Executors Isaac Franklin.	\$154 51
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Bellevue,	213 91
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Pr. Concordia	\$368 42
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[Received payment from Messrs. Nalle and Cox.

Dudley and Nelson, Pr. Chas. E. Barklay.

New Orleans, January 8, 1847.

Executors Isaac Franklin Estate,

Bought of Dudley and Nelson.

20 barrels molasses, 816 gal., at 26c.,	212 16
Drayage,	1 75

Bellevue, per Magnolia.	\$213 91
-------------------------	----------

Received payment from Messrs. Nalle and Cox.

Dudley and Nelson, per Charles E. Barklay.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Dudley & Nelson,

1847.

Jan'y.	25 5 gallons Cog[nac] brandy, 2 50	
	dem. \$1	13 50

Drayage to s'bt. Concordia	25
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Feb'y.	26 4 boxes sardines	4 00	13 75
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⁷ W. H. Dudley and J. P. Nelson, wholesale and retail grocers, 6 Old Levee Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 222, 441.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

		1 HF powder		6 00	
		1 bag buck shot		1 75	
		3 small do	1 50	4 50	
		1 catty tea		2 75	
		30 loaf sugar,	16c	4 80	
		2 kegs mustard	6b	1 50	
		2 jars pickles	4b	1 00	
		1 box soap, 48	6¾	3 24	
		Per st'bt. Sam Dale, dray-			
		age		25	
				<hr/>	29 79
May	6	1 tierce rice 671-67-604		31 71	
		nett	5¼		
		Drayage to st'bt. Sam Dale		25	
				<hr/>	31 96
November	2	5 black tea	\$1	5 00	
		24 best loaf sugar	16c	8 84	
				<hr/>	8 84
		Per Magnolia,			
December	21	15 bags co[arse] salt	85	12 75	
		5 fine do	1 25	6 25	
		Drayage	75	75	
				<hr/>	19 75
Jan'ry.	11	1 box sperm candles, 33¼	36		11 97
		17 5 bags Rio coffee, 818,	7½	61 35	
		1 hhd. sugar, 1170-117-			
		1053,	5¼	55 28	
		25 bbls molasses, 1103	19½	215 08	
		Drayage,		2 50	
				<hr/>	\$334 21
					<hr/>
					\$450 27

Messrs. Nalle & Coxé will please pay Dudley & Nelson or order, the amount of the within account and charge, to the estate of Isaac Franklin.

New Orleans, February 17, 1848.

John Armfield,

Dudley & Nelson.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Received of James Watson, for estate of Isaac Franklin, one hundred and thirty dollars and eight cents for 2168 lbs. bulk pork at 66[6c].

Feb. 20th, 1847.

Wm. A. Pearcey.

Received of James Watson, one hundred and forty-two dollars [and] fifty-one cents, on acc't of pork sold to the estate of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.

\$142 51

[March ? 1847]

McCoy and Stocking.

Angola, March, 5th, 1847.

\$260 Messrs. Dick and Hill: Gentlemen, you will please pay McCoy and Stocking, two hundred and sixty dollars; it being for pork bought for the estate of Isaac Franklin.

James Watson.

G. Coates.

McCoy and Stocking.

Paid, 19 March, '47.

1847, March 10.

Franklin Woodyard.

Received of James Watson eighteen dollars and twenty-five cents, for 1440 lbs. hay at 90c per cwt., and 62 lbs. of bacon hams at 8½c per lb.

H. W. Hughes.

Angola, March 12th, 1847.

\$2300 Messrs. Dick and Hill. Gentlemen, you will pay at sight to Richard Plummer, the sum of twenty-three hundred dollars, it being for corn and pork bought for the use of the plantation, and charge the same to the estate of Isaac Franklin.

Very respect. yours, James Watson.

Attest: Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

Paid, 15 March, '47.

Richard Plummer.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

[April ? 1847]

Bought of P. A. Key.⁸

4 casks sides, 490, 634, 745, 745; nett, 2714, 8¾c. \$237 47

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bot. of P. A. Key,

1 cask bacon (shoulders) 695, at 6¼

43 44

April 28, '47.

Received payment for P. A. Key,

George S. Bartlett.

Estate of Isaac Franklin.

[May ? 1847]

Bought of J. S. Patterson,

1673 lbs heads and joles, 2½c.

\$41 82

Rec'd payment, Jno. S. Patterson

Invoice 6 casks of bacon sides sold Capt. Key, for Jas. Watson,
at 8¼c per lb., by Thomas Smith.

Louisville, May, 7, 1847.

K. 1 780 lbs. nett

2 717 do

3 723 do

4 735 do

5 678 do

6 466 do

4100 do nett 4880 gross,

8¼

\$338 25

343 25 6 casks, 50c

3 00

63 50 Drayage to Portland

2 00

3571

33 96

343 25

415

440 71

Rec'd payment, Thomas Smith.

⁸ Captain of the steamer *Sam Dale* in 1847; of the *Bunker Hill* later in the same year and in 1848.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Received of Capt. Key, of steamer Bunker Hill, seven hundred
and fifty dollars in full for fifty barrels mess pork,
May 8, 1847. A. S. White & Co.⁹

May 8, 1847.

Capt. P. A. Key,

Bought of Armstrong and Russell,

5 Casks	C. Sides			
[Gross]	[Cask]	[Net]		
868	136	738		
942	136	806		
909	125	784		
794	117	677		
781	125	656		
<hr/> 4294	<hr/> 633	<hr/> 3661	at 8¼c	302 03
		5 casks, 50c		2 50
				<hr/> 304 53

Paid A. & R.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To P. A. Key,

For cash paid as follows:

A. S. White & Co., Louisville, for 50 bbls mess pork, at \$15	750 00	
Drayage on same	6 00	
T. Smith, bill of side bacon, 4880, 81/4	}	343 25
Casks, \$3		
Drayage, \$2		
Armstrong and Russell, bill 5 casks sides, 3661,	}	306 53
81/4, casks, \$2 50		
Drayage, \$2		
Insurance on the above and policy		8 12
		<hr/> 1415 90

⁹ A. S. White and Company, and Armstrong and Russell were Louisville firms.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Commission for purchasing, 5 per cent	70 74	
	<hr/>	
	1484 64	
Freight per Bunker Hill, 11 casks,	}	
gross 9174, 40c.		
50 bbls pork, \$1		86 69
	<hr/>	
		\$1571 33

May 20, '47.

Received payment for P. A. Key.

George T. Bartlett.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To steamer Bunker Hill,	
For 3 boxes sides bacon, 1220 lbs., 81½c,		\$103 70
June 12, '47.	Rec'd payment, Geo. T. Bartlett.	
June 7. By wood		47 50
12. do		85 00
	<hr/>	
	132 50	
Bill above	103 70	28 80
	<hr/>	

New Orleans, 23d, June, 1847.

Steamer Magnolia.

	Bought of A. Montange & Co., ¹⁰	
1 Bbl. Sugar, 253,	7¾,	19 60
Drayage		25
	<hr/>	
	19 85	
Freight		50
	<hr/>	
		\$20 35

Rec'd payment A. Montange & Co.,

per A. C. Phelps.

¹⁰ Grocers, 25 Common Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register* for 1846, p. 428.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Marked: James Watson, Franklin Woodyard.

Say 29th June, '47.

Received of James Watson, for acc't of estate of Isaac Franklin, two hundred thirty-seven dollars and forty-seven cents, for 4 casks sides sold him on the way down from steamer Bunker Hill, 2714 lbs., 8¼c, per bill

\$237 47

George F. Bartlett, for P. A. Key.

June 29.	25 cords wood,	2 50	62 50
July 5.	30 do do,	3 00	90 00
			<hr/> 152 50

Estate of Isaac Franklin.

June, 30th, 1847.

Bought of Jacob Peters,

To 2869 Bacon shoulders	61½c	186 48
6394 Bacon sides	81½c	543 49
		<hr/> \$729 97

Rec'd payment from Jas. S. Clack,
Agent for the estate of Isaac Franklin.
J. Peter[s].

The Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Hannah, Courtney & Co.¹¹

3 casks bacon sides.

	[Gross]	[Cask]	[Net]		
	1008	145	863		
	450	67	383		
	430	65	365	1611 lbs at 8c	\$128 88
1 cask bacon.					
	981	76	906 lbs	7¾c	70 22
Drayage					0 75
Commission 2½c					4 99
					<hr/> \$204 84

¹¹ A St. Louis firm to which James S. Clack shipped Spanish moss picked on the Franklin estate.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Received payment.
Saint Louis, July, 21, 1847.

Hannah, Courtney & Co.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Peter Murphy.

1 bbl flour		\$5 50
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Received payment of J. Watson, August 10, 1847.	Peter Murphy.
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New Orleans, August 16th, 1847.

Captain Thomason,

Bought of Dudley and Nelson.

1 bag choice Havana coffee, 206 lbs at 9c	18 54
1 demijohn (8b) fine brandy, 5 gals. \$4 50	23 50
Drayage	25
	<hr/> \$42 29

Received payment,

Dudley and Nelson, *per* Charles G. Barkley.

Estate of Isaac Franklin, Franklin's landing, *per* steamboat Dallas.

New Orleans, October 28, 1847.

Steamboat Arkansas No. 4, for estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of G. A. Pyncheon.¹²

20 sacks coarse salt	at \$1 25	25 00
Freight		5 00
		<hr/> \$30 00

Received the above of Mr. Watson,

Henry Green, Clerk Arkansas No. 4.

New Orleans, Nov. 2d, 1847.

Steamer Magnolia,

Bought of Rob't M. McAlphin,

6 hams bg.	1d. 14c	9 66
Drayage		25
		<hr/> \$9 91

¹² Dealer in salt, corner Canal and New Levee streets, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 480.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Estate of I. Franklin, Bellevue,
Received payment,

T. C. Charles, *Clerk.*

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Kirkland & Co.

1 bbl. flour \$6 00

Received payment of Watson,
Nov. 10th, 1847, Kirkland & Co.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To M. Torris,	Dr.
1 lb Y. H. tea	10b	1 25
2 lb candles	40c	80
		<hr/> \$2 05

Received payment of Mr. Watson,
November 15th, 1847. M. Torris, *per* B. D. Tiels.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 30 bbls. mess pork, at \$10 20	306 00
Drayage to steamer Magnolia,	3 00
	<hr/> \$309 00

Charged to acct. New Orleans, December 6th, 1847.

Invoice 200 bbls pork, purchased by J. S. Chenowith & Co.,¹³
Cincinnati, by our order, for account of the estate of Isaac
Franklin.

Feb. 4 200 barrels mess pork \$7 75	1550 00
Drayage	10 00

¹³ John S. and Ross C. Chenowith, 25 e. Front, Cincinnati. *Williams' Cincinnati Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror*, 1853, pp. 69, 201-02.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Chenowith & Co's. commissions $2\frac{1}{2}$	38 70
Interest \$1598 70, 60 days	17 05
Exchange $\frac{1}{2}$	7 99

\$1623 74

Freight 60c pr. barrel	120 00
Our commission $2\frac{1}{2}$	43 59

Debit Messrs. Armfield and Hayes, Ex'rs. as cash, 7 April, 1848.	\$1787 33
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New Orleans, 17 February, 1848.

pp. Hill, McLean & Co.

R. W. Estlin.

New Orleans, February 15th 1848.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Dudley and Nelson,

75 barrels molasses, 3096 nett gallons, at $22\frac{1}{4}$ c. \$688 86

Drayage, 6 25

\$695 11

Marked W. M. P., and shipped }
per steamer Magnolia. }

Invoice 200 barrels mess pork purchased by Messrs. J. S. Chenowith, Cincinnati, by our order, for the estate of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.

200 barrels mess pork \$7 50 p. bbl.	\$1500 00
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Drayage	10 00
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Commission, purchg. and shipping $2\frac{1}{2}$ p. c	37 50
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Interest 64 days	16 51
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Exchange $\frac{1}{2}$ pr. c	7 86	24 37
------------------------------	------	-------

\$1571 87

Freight pr. Martha Washington 70c	140 00
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Our commission $2\frac{1}{2}$ pr. c	42 79
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Cash 22d April	\$1754 66
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ISAAC FRANKLIN

Errors excepted, 3d March, 1848

Hill, McLean & Co.

John Armfield, Esq. Ex'or.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,				Dr.
1848.	To Dudley & Nelson,			
Mar. 27,	35 sacks coarse salt, at \$1 25	43 75		
	5 do fine do at \$1 55	7 75		
	Drayage to steamer Magnolia,	2 00	53 50	
<hr/>				
May 15,	5 galls. fine brandy, dem. \$1, 5 galls. at \$4 50	23 50		
	2 doz. water buckets, at \$2 25	4 50		
	Drayage,	25	28 25	
<hr/>				
June 26,	1 bbl. best sugar, 235, at 6¼c	14 69		
	1 bag best Rio coffee, 163, at 7½c	12 22		
	Drayage,	25	27 16	
<hr/>				
Nov. 13,	35 bags coarse salt, at \$1 30	45 50		
	5 do fine do at \$1 40	7 00		
	Drayage,	2 00	54 50	
<hr/>				
Dec. 19,	2 gals. fine brandy, demj. 6b., at \$4 50,	9 75		
	80 loaf sugar, at 1b.,	10 00		
	1 box sperm candles, 32¾, at 35c.,	11 46		
	Drayage,	25	31 46	
<hr/>				
1849.				
Jan. 9,	2 bags Java coffee, 270, at 13½c.,	36 45		
	4 do., Rio, do., 656, at 6¼c.,	41 00		
	10 lbs. black tea and box, 3b., at \$1,	10 38		
	1 hhd. sugar, 1185-118, 1067, nett at 5½c.,	58 69		
	1 demj. fine brandy, demj. \$1, 5, at \$4 50	23 50		
	Drayage,	75	170 77	
<hr/>				
			\$365 64	

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Received payment, Dudley and Nelson,
Pr. Chs. G. Barkley.

.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co.,

Gentlemen: Please pay Dudley and Nelson, or order, the amount of the above account, and charge same to estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

John Armfield,
Executor of Isaac Franklin.

Duplicate invoice mess pork per Concordia, for account of est. of Isaac Franklin, Bellevue,

	Bo't of Boyle and Crone. ¹⁴	
50 barrels mess pork, a 12 40-100,		\$620 00
Drayage,		3 90
		<hr/> 623 90
2½ pr. ct. com'n.,		15 90
		<hr/> \$639 40
Debit, est. of I. Franklin,		
New Orleans, January 23rd, 1849.		
	Hill, McLean & Co., Per C. T. Estlin.	

Duplicate invoice of mess pork per Concordia, consigned to James S. Clack, Esq., Bellevue, for account est. Isaac Franklin,

	Bo't of Shultz, Hadden and Leach. ¹⁵	
150 bbls. mess pork, a \$11,	\$1,650 00	
Drayage,	14 25	1,664 25
2½ pr. ct. com'n.,		41 60
		<hr/> Dolls, 1,705 85
Debit, Est. I. Franklin,		

¹⁴ T. A. Boyle and John Crone, produce dealers, Tchoupitoulas Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, pp. 26, 46.

¹⁵ Christian Shultz, David Hadden, and Joseph Leach, commission merchants, 77 Tchoupitoulas Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 294, 363, 521; *New Orleans Price-Current*, January 8, 1848.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

New Orleans, 2nd Feb'y, 1849.

Hill, McLean & Co., Per C. T. Estlin.

Bellevue, Feb. 7, 1849.

Pay to the order of W. H. Barrow, two hundred and eighty-seven dollars and fifty cents, it being a balance for fifty barrels of molasses, and charge to account of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most obedient servant,

Jas. S. Clack, *Agent*.

W. H. Barrow.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

1849.

Bought of Dudley and Nelson,

Feb'y.	21.	2 empty barrels and drayage		\$1 50
April	6.	5 gallons fine brandy, dem. \$1,		
		at 4 50,	\$23 50	
		105 Canvassed hams, at 13c	13 13	
		1 box Sperm Candles, at 32½		
		a 3b,	12 18	
		Drayage to Princess No. 3,	25	49 06
May	4.	1 tierce rice, 692-69-623 at		
		4½c,	[26 48]	
		Drayage to Magnolia,	25	26 73
August	6.	20 sacks coarse salt, at 1 15	23 00	
		Drayage to Latona,	1 50	24 50
September	8.	1 tierce rice, 671 nt at 5¾,	38 58	
		Drayage to Magnolia,	25	38 83
December	17.	6 barrels Flour, at 5 75c	31 50	
		6 barrels Whiskey, 232½ a 29c.	67 43	
		Drayage,	75	99 68
	29.	30 sacks coarse salt, at 1 10	33 00	

[258]

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

10 do fine salt at 1 35	13 50	
Drayage to Magnolia,	2 00	48 50
		<hr/>
		\$288 80

Received payment from Hill, McLean & Co,
January 16th, '50. Dudley and Nelson, per C. H. C. Stone.

Nashville, May 12th, 1849.

The executors of Isaac Franklin, dec'd,

Bought of C. M. Nichol,¹⁶

For the plantation in Louisiana, belonging to said estate,

	[Gross]	[Cask]	[Net]		
5 hhds. bacon,	1050	115	935		
	985	115	870		
	925	125	800		
	910	100	810		
	895	105	790		
			<hr/>	4205 at 4 1/2c	\$189 22
5 hhds. containing same, 50c,					2 50
Drayage,					45
					<hr/>
					\$192 17

Shipped per steamer Tennessee.

Rec'd payment, C. M. Nichol.

Nashville, 25th May, 1849.

Estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,

Bought of C. M. Nichol,

5 hhds. bacon sides.

¹⁶ Nichol & Co., wholesale grocers and commission merchants, 14 Spring Street, Nashville, Tennessee. *Nashville, State of Tennessee, and General Commercial Directory*, 1853, p. 83.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

[Gross]	[Cask]	[Net]
920	120	800
863	100	763
900	115	785
863	120	743
957	128	829

3920 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ c. 176 40

1 hhd. shoulders,

1040 115 925 at 3c. 27 75

Hhds. Cooperage & Co. 3 00

Drayage, 90

208 05

Received, of O. B. Hayes and John Armfield, executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased, in Louisiana, two hundred and eight dollars and five cents, in full [payment] of the above bill.

C. M. Nichol, By W. McClure.

26th May, 1849.

Shipped per steamer James Dick. }

Nashville, July 3, 1849.

O. B. Hayes, Ex'r of Isaac Franklin, in La.

Bought of D. Trigg.¹⁷

3 hhds. of bacon,

980

800

740

2520 lbs. at $4\frac{1}{2}$ c. 113 40

3 hhds. to pack, at 50c. 1 50

Drayage, 20

Shipped to Bellevue plantation, \$115 10

Received of O. B. Hayes, Ex'r, pay't in full,

D. Trigg.

¹⁷ Grocer and commission merchant, 52 Broad Street, Nashville. *Ibid.*

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Nashville, August 29, 1849.

Ex'rs of Isaac Franklin, dec'd, in La.,

Bought of D. Trigg,

For the plantation in Louisiana

5 hhds. clean bacon sides.

No. 1 hhd. 44 sides 925 lb.

2 " 40 " 925

3 " 37 " 905

4 " 46 " 1065

5 " 40 " 1080-4900 at 5c. 245 00

5 hhds at 50c. 2 50

Drayage, 50

Shipped per steamer Dover, \$248 00

Received, of O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, payment
in full. D. Trigg.

Nashville, 4th September, 1849.

Exchange for \$763 32. }

No. 22. }

Five days after sight of this first of exchange (second of same tenor and date unpaid), pay to the order of N. Hobson, cashier, seven hundred and sixty-three dollars and thirty-two cents, value received, and charge the same to account, for bacon sides for plantation in Louisiana.

O. B. Hayes,

Executor of I. Franklin, deceased.

To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

P. 2062. Pay G. Cruzat, cashier, or order. N. Hobson, *Agent.*

Accepted 13th September, 1849. Hill, McLean & Co.

New Orleans, 8th January, 1850.

O. B. Hayes and John Armfield, executors of

Isaac Franklin, deceased,

Bought of P. Seawell,¹⁸

¹⁸ Commission merchant and grocer, 28 Common Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 161. About 1850 he moved to the corner of Poydras and Magazine streets. *Ibid.*, 1850, p. 148.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

For the plantation opposite mouth of Red River.

3 bags Rio,	497		
3 "	<u>494</u>	991 lbs.,	12c., 118 92
1 bag old Java,	126 lbs.,	16c.,	20 16
1 hhd. sugar,	1060—106—954 lbs.,	4½c.,	40 54
Drayage, 2 loads,			50
			<hr/> 180 12

P. Seawell.

Isaac Franklin's Louisiana estate,

1850.

To William Franklin, Dr.¹⁰

Jan'y 12th. To 196 barrels mess pork at \$9 50	\$1862 00
To 186 barrels prime pork, at 8 00	1488 00
To 9 barrels rumps, at 8 00	72 00
	<hr/> \$3422 00

Received of John Armfield, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, the above account in full, February 19th, 1850.

William Franklin,

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co, will please pay the within bill, and charge the same to estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield, Executor of Isaac Franklin.

February 19th, 1850.

\$337 35.

Bellevue, Feb'y. 8th, 1850.

At sight, pay to steamer Tallyrand, three hundred and thirty-seven dollars and 35—100, for freight of one box and 391 bbls. pork, and charge to account of the estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't. serv't.,

Jas. S. Clack, Agent,
(B. Dufield.)

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

¹⁰ Isaac Franklin's brother, of Sumner County, Tennessee.

8. DRY GOODS AND CLOTHING

Isaac Franklin, deceased,			
1846.	To Nalle and Cox,	Dr.	
Jan. 14	To 12 bales 4-4 [4 quarters, or 36 in.] oznaburgs (delivered at Bellevue plantation,) 5087¾ yds. at 10½c.		\$534 22
	Less 2½c.		13 35—\$520 87
April 16	To 6 bales jeans, 1602¾ yds. at 40c.		\$641 10
	4 Linsey, 1513½ yds. at 30c.	454 15	1095 15
	Less, 2½c.		27 87—1067 78
Amount due Nalle and Cox, 15th Jany., 1847,			1588 63
Deduct freight paid by I. Franklin on 12 bales oznaburgs, 14th Jany, '46			6 00
Balance due Nalle and Cox,			<u>\$1582 65</u>

Folio 275		New Orleans, January 16, 1846.	
Mr. Isaac Franklin,			
1846.	Bought of Cordeviolle and Lacroix. ¹		
April 15,	1 superfine silk merino frock coat,		\$28 00
	2 pairs drilling pants, at \$8 each,		16
	2 colored Marseilles vests, at \$6 each,		12
	1 pair black merino pants,		12
			<u>\$68</u>
16,	1 superfine black merino dress coat,		28
			<u>\$96</u>
Francois Lacroix.			

¹ Etienne Cordeviolle and François Lacroix, merchant tailors and drapers, 123 Chartres Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 177, 350.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Estate of Isaac Franklin,
1846.

New Orleans.

Bought of Keen and Rayne,²

April 17,	5 prs. women's lasting half gaiters a		
	\$10 per doz.,	\$4 18	
	5 prs. " " a \$9 60 "	4 00	
	4 " men's goat brogans 16	5 33	
	1 " pat[ent] lea[ther] "	2 00	
	2 " boys' peg " a 75c, per		
	pr.,	1 50	
	8 " linen drill pantaloons \$2,	16 00	
	10 summer coats, a 88c.,	8 80	
	3 pr. men's seal peg brogans, 80c.,	2 40	
	2 " gents linen gaiters, \$16 50 per		
	dozen,	2 76	
	2 " pat[ent] lea[ther] brogans, \$2 78,	4 00	
	1 " seal peg brogans,	80	
	1 " goat, sewed "	1 33	
	2 " linen drill pants, \$2,	4 00	
	2 summer coats,	1 75	
	2 pr. misses lea[ther] sp. brogans a \$7		
	per dozen,	1 16	
	2 " women's buskins, a 80, 87,	1 67	
	1 " men's plain lasting gaiters,	1 25	\$62 93
" 27,	1 " men's calf sewed brogans,	1 50	
	4 " women's R. R. bus[kins] a 87½	3 50	5 00
May 16,	2 large packing boxes,	50	
	1 pr. gents linen gaiters,	1 75	2 25
			\$70 18
	Expenses at magistrates,		60
			\$70 78

² Isaac Keene and R. W. Rayne, shoe store, 25 Customhouse Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 337, 485.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

New Orleans, May 5, 1846.

Mr. John Armfield, Ex'r Estate Isaac Franklin,

Bought of W. Huntington.³

1 Mareno [sic] Coat,	\$12 50
1 Vest,	2 50

Received payment,	<u>\$14 50</u>
-------------------	----------------

W. Huntington.

The within account is for the estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased, the clothes being for boy Brutus, belonging to said estate.

John Armfield, *Executor*.

Invoice of sundries shipped by Dick and Hill, per steamer Cora, consigned to and for account of Isaac Franklin, Esq. . . .

Bought of Sexton, Seymour & Co.⁴

8 pieces broad netting, 102 each,		
816, at 10c	81 60	
13 pieces, 3/4 shirting, 403, at 53/4c.	23 20	
Box and drayage,	1 25	106 05

[4 bbls. tar, at \$3, bought of McAlpin and Tagert, and drayage, 25c]	[12 25]
Commission, 21/2c.	<u>2 96</u>

Debit Estate Isaac Franklin,	<u>\$121 26</u>
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Dick and Hill, per J. Brandt.

New Orleans, 1st June, 1846.

Invoice netting, &c., shipped by Dick and Hill, per steamer Cora, consigned to and for account Isaac Franklin, deceased.

Bought of Sexton, Seymour & Co.

8 pieces brown netting, 102 each,	
816 yards, at 10c.	81 60

³ M. Huntington, clothier, corner Canal and Magazine streets, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 320.

⁴ Lester Sexton and D. M. Seymour, wholesale dry goods merchants, 5 Old Levee Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 518.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

1 piece Waltham sheeting, 29½ yards,		
at 12c.	3 54	
13 pieces ¾ shirting, 417¼ yards at 53c.	23 99	
Box and drayage,	75	109 88
	<hr/>	
2½c. commission,		2 74
		<hr/>
Debit estate Isaac Franklin,		\$112 62
	Dick and Hill, per Jas. Brandt.	
New Orleans, 7th July, '46.		

Duplicate invoice Lowells, shipped by Dick and Hill, per steamer Cora, consigned to Mr. James Clack, Bellevue, for account and risk estate I. Franklin,

	Bought of Sexton, Seymour, & Co.,	
1 bale Lowells, 614 yds, at 8½ cents	\$52 19	
Drayage,	25	52 44
	<hr/>	
2½ commission,		1 31
		<hr/>
Debit estate of Isaac Franklin,		\$53 75
	Dick and Hill, per James Brandt.	
New Orleans, 4th Aug., '46.		

Invoice Lowells, shipped by Dick and Hill, per steamer Concordia, consigned to Mr. Watson, Bellevue, for account estate I. Franklin.

	Bought of Sexton, Seymour & Co.	
1 bale $\frac{3}{8}$ lowells, 611 yds. at $8\frac{1}{2}$ c	51 94	
Drayage,	25	52 19
	<hr/>	
$2\frac{1}{2}$ c. commission,		1 30
		<hr/>
Debit estate Isaac Franklin,		\$53 49
	Dick and Hill, per James Brandt.	
New Orleans, 24th August, 1846.		

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

[November 7, 1846]

Executors of the estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,

In act with Tennessee Penitentiary.

Angola

Plantation, To	84 pairs of boots, at	\$2	
	a pair,		\$168 00
	4 pairs of shoes, at	\$1 25,	5 00
	85 wool hats,	62½	53 12
Killarney,	62 pairs of boots,	2 00	124 00
	13 shoes,	1 25	16 25
	42 wool hats,	62½	21 87
Lochlomond,	58 pairs of boots,	2 00	116 00
	5 shoes,	1 25	6 25
	35 wool hats,	62½	21 87
Bellevue,	131 pairs of boots,	2	262 00
	9 pairs kip shoes,	2	18 00
	52 wool hats,	62	32 50
	18 coarse,	1 25	22 50
	1 cart and cart harness,		51 00
			<hr/>
			\$922 74

Received of O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, the sum of nine hundred and twenty-two dollars and seventy-four cents, in payment for the above bill, for the plantations in Louisiana belonging to this estate.

(Signed duplicate.)

John McIntosh, *Agent*.⁵

New Orleans, 5th January, 1847.

Messrs. Nalle and Cox, for Estate of Franklin.

Bought of North and Brothers,⁶

⁵ John McIntosh was born in Fayette County, Kentucky, October 15, 1794, and migrated to Tennessee in 1828. According to a local history, he had "previously . . . assisted in the building of the first jail in Nashville." For over thirty years he was in charge of the Tennessee penitentiary. He died on June 1, 1859, "at his plantation in Louisiana." Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee*, between pp. 484 and 485.

⁶ H. North, W. H. North, and James E. North, importers of dry goods, corner Magazine and Common streets, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 446.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

6 bales $\frac{7}{8}$	Lowells,	286 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	243 59
[No.]	[yds.]			
2273	476 $\frac{1}{4}$			
2177	478 $\frac{1}{4}$			
2254	478			
2206	478			
2222	475 $\frac{3}{4}$			
2200	479 $\frac{3}{4}$			
4 bales	Lowells,	2430	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	255 15
[No.]	[yds.]			
192	602			
144	607			
187	601			
234	620			
1 gr. gross bone shirt button,				2 00
1 do negro but[tons]				2 24
Drayages,				50
				<hr/>
Rec'd payment,				503 49
				North and Brothers, per E. B. Smedes.

New Orleans, March 8, 1847.

Estate Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Giquet & Jamison.⁷

February 17	8 yards gingham		31 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 50
	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ do		25	1 88
20	1 pair white silk hose			2 25
	2 do cotton		50	1 00
February 26.	1 pc white cotton,	35 yds	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 38
	3 calico	89	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 13
	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ oil silk		1 00	1 50
March 5	2 calico	51	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 38
	1 do	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	3 25
	1 red flannel	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	30	6 75
	1 white cotton	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	3 25
	30 yds furniture check		15	4 50

⁷ Armand Giquet and D. Jamison, fancy dry goods, 6 Chartres Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 277, 327.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

1 doz mixed cotton half hose		3 50
1 head handkerchiefs		4 00
8 14½ yds calico	30	4 35
3 black papus [?] muslin	121½	38
7½ calico	121½	94
9 3 balute[?]		90
		<hr/> \$62 84

Received payment for this amount, from John Armfield, executor.
Giquet and Jamison.

New Orleans, April 22, 1847.

Mr. Clack, for the Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of M. Huntington,

1 sack coat	4 00
1 pr pants	2 50
Rec'd payment,	<hr/> \$6 50
	M. Huntington.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

1847. In acc't with Marshall and James.⁸

May 5	2 pieces gingham, 74, at 22c	16 28
Apr. 30	7 do 4-4 bro[wn] sheeting, 224¾ at 9½c	21 25
	Baling and drayage	50 21 85
Nov. 27	3 pieces red flannel, 151, at 15c	37 75
29	1 bale 3 p[oin]t French blankets, 80, at \$3 87½	230 00
	1 bale U. S. Navy do, 40, at \$3 75	140 00
	1 do 11-4 [99 in.] English jeffle do, 29, at \$3 75	108 75
	Baling and drayage	2 50 481 25

⁸ J. R. Marshall and A. B. James, dry goods store, 18 Chartres Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 327, 394.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Dec. 6	30 pair French blankets, \$2 87½	86 25	
	Baling and drayage	75	87 00
1848			
Jan. 6	15 pair 3 p[oin]t blanket, \$2 87½	43 12	
	2 pièces linen burlaps, 120, at 14c	16 80	
	Baling and drayage	75	60 67
E[rrors] E[xcepted]	New Orleans, Jan. 6th, 1848.		704 80

New Orleans, July 20, 1847.

Steamer Natchez, for Franklin Plantn.

Bought of A. F. Dunbar & Co.⁹

4 pair mud boots	\$2	8 00
Freight		50

Received payment, 8 50

A. F. Dunbar & Co. *per* John Drummond.

Duplicate invoice of Lowells, steamer St. Mary, consigned to J. S. Clack, Esq., Bellevue, for acc't of Messrs. Armfield & Hayes, exrs. estate Isaac Franklin.

Bought of Charles A. Townsend & Co.,¹⁰

3 Bales, 4-4, Lowells, 1824 y'ds,		
at 1b.	228 00	
1 Bale, 4-4, Bro[wn] domestic, 740		
yards at 9c.	66 60	
Drayage	25	294 85
Commission, 2½ per cent		7 37

Debit Messrs. Armfield & Hayes, ex.,

in acc't with Hill, McLean & Co. \$302 22

E[rrors] E[xcepted] New Orleans, 28th July, 1847.

Dick & Hill, per C. T. Estlin.

⁹ Boot and shoe store, 54 and 56 Common Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 58.

¹⁰ Dry goods store, 4 Magazine Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 174.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Duplicate invoice Georgia duck, steamer St. Mary, acc't estate
I. Franklin, Bellevue.

Bought of Charles A. Townsend & Co.,	
2 Bales Ga. duck, 1008, at 11c.	\$110 90
Drayage	25
	<hr/>
	111 15
Commission 2½ per cent	2 78
	<hr/>
Debit estate of Isaac Franklin	113 93
New Orleans, 4th August, 1847.	

Hill, McLean & Co., per R. Y. Black.

O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin's estate

1847.	To Tennessee Penitentiary.	
Oct. 21	To 129 prs. boots \$2 00 (Bellevue plantation	258 00
22	" shoes 1 25 " "	27 50
86	" boots 2 00 (Angola " "	172 00
10	" shoes 1 25 " "	12 50
64	" boots 2 00 (Lochlomond " "	128 00
7	" shoes 1 25 " "	8 75
74	" boots 2 00 (Killarney " "	148 00
4	" shoes 1 25 " "	5 00
		<hr/>
		\$759 75
Feb. 1.	By 7876 lbs of moss 3c	236 28
		<hr/>
		\$523 47

Received of O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased,
in Louisiana, the above balance of five hundred and twenty-three
dollars and forty-seven cents in payment thereof.

4th January, 1848. John McJetteth [McIntosh], Agent.

New Orleans, Feb. 19, 1848.

Estate of Isaac Franklin.

1847. Bought of Taylor and Rayne,¹¹. . .

¹¹ D. [?] Taylor and R. W. Rayne advertised "IN STORE AND FOR
SALE, for account of the New England manufacturers, one hundred thou-
sand dollars worth of

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Nov. 30	15 Pairs men's mud boots	33 75	
	1 " Kip p[e]g brogans	1 00	
	Drayage	25	\$35 00
			<hr/>
1848			
Feb. 15	23 Pairs men's russet brogans	23 00	
	2 " Sh[or]t boots	4 33	
	Drayage	25	\$27 50
			<hr/>
			62 50

Estate of Isaac Franklin to Nalle and Cox, payable in January, 1848.

For 4 boxes Ky. lindsays, 1216 yds, at 27c.	328 32
6 " Jeans, 1496 37	553 52
	<hr/>
	\$881 84

Charged to acct. New Orleans, May 20th, 1848.

Nashville, January 12, 1848.

The executors of the estate of Isaac Franklin.

Bought of L. Powers, for Washington.

1 pair pants	3 75	
1 do drawers	50	4 25
	<hr/>	

Rec'd payment,

L. Powers, *per* S. Mayey.

Executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased, (in Louisiana)

1848.

To Tennessee Penitentiary, Dr.

Jan. 12, To 1 pair of negro boots for boy Washington, 2 00

BOOTS, SHOES, HATS AND CAPS.

Comprising a complete assortment, suitable for the City and Country trade, at

TAYLOR & RAYNE'S

Wholesale commission Shoe House, sign of the Red Boot, 25 Customhouse street, New Orleans." Woodville (Miss.) *Wilkinson Whig*, July 28, 1848. See also, *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 171.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

June 24,	233 pairs of negro boots, at	\$2,	466 00
	49 pairs of negro shoes, at	\$1 25,	61 25
	3 boxes, for packing,		3 00
Sep. 14,	147 pairs of negro boots, at	\$2,	294 00
	2 pairs of negro shoes, at	\$1 50,	3 00
	2 do., do., at	\$1 25,	2 50
			<hr/> \$831 75

The above bill of boots and shoes are for the Bellevue Plantation in Louisiana.

Received, this 19th December, 1848, of O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, eight hundred and thirty-one dollars and seventy-five cents, in full, for the above bill.

John McIntosh,
Agent Tennessee Penitentiary.

New Orleans, 26 Jan., 1849

Estate of Isaac Franklin,
1848.

To Berne and Burnside.¹²

Feb. 4,	1 bale DeKalb osnaburgs,	344½, 10,	34 45
	1 " 4-4 Patapsco [osnaburgs],	716½, 11,	78 84
	Drayage,		25 113 54
14,	4 ⅞ DeKalb osnaburgs,	1376, 10,	137 60
	2 4-4 Patapsco,	1439¼, 11,	158 32
	8 ps. ⅞ DeKalb,	272½, 10,	27 25
	10 4-4 Patapsco,	360¾, 11,	39 68
	2 dark fancy print,	67¾, 11½,	7 79
	Baling and drayage,		75 371 39
Mar. 6,	20 lbs. W[ilson] B[rothers]		
	flax thread,	75, 15 00	
	2 ps. fancy print,	70⅓, 14,	9 91 24 91
			<hr/> 509 84
In't. from 13 Aug., 1848, to 26 Jan., 1849,			18 80
			<hr/> \$528 64

¹² Beirn [Beirne] and Burnside, wholesale dry goods merchants, 19 Chartres Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 18.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Received from Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., five hundred and twenty-eight dollars and sixty-four cents, amount of the above.

Burne & Burnside,
Henry Saragac.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

For 1 bale Ky. jeans, 239½ yds., at 37c.	88 61
Cash paid for 10 bbls lime. 1 30	13 00
Drayage to steamer Magnolia,	1 25
	<hr/> \$102 86

Charged to acct. New Orleans, February 15th, 1848.

New Orleans, Feb. 24, 1848.

\$62 50 At sight, pay to the order of Taylor and Rayne, the above bill, and charge the same to account of Estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield.

Messrs. Nalle and Cox, New Orleans.

S. Armfield, Canal Street.

New Orleans, Jan. 27, 1849.

Estate Isaac Franklin,
1848.

Bought of Marshall & James,

Mar. 10, 2 ps. gingham prints, 64¾, at 12½c	8 09
16, 2 ps. chick nettings, 115½, at 12½c	14 44
	<hr/> 22 53

30th January, 1849. Rec'd payment,

Marshall & James,
per Geo. M. Robrook

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of J. Bowles.¹⁸

6 Pair mud boots, \$2 50,	\$15 00
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¹⁸ Shoe store, 51 Canal Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 25.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

New Orleans, March 21st, 1848.

83 Canal st.

Rec'd payment of John Armfield, Executor. J. Bowles.

New Orleans, March 27th, 1848.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

For Daniel Gray, at the woodyard, Bought of M. Huntington

No. 1 Magazine, corner of Canal St.

1 Coat	18 50
1 pr. pants	6 00
1 vest	2 00

Received payment from	\$26 50
-----------------------	---------

Mr. J. Armfield, executor,

March 27th, 1848.

M. Huntington, *pr.* H. Hunard.

The estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 4 bales linseys,

125 13/4 yds. at 27 cts.,	337 96
---------------------------	--------

7 bales jeans, 1724 1/2 yds., at 37 cts.,	638 06	976 02
---	--------	--------

New Orleans, 13th May, 1848.

The estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 1 bale 7-8 osna-

burgs, 332 yds., at 9 cts.,	\$29 88
-----------------------------	---------

Drayage, 25 cts., commission, 75 cts.,	1 00	30 88
--	------	-------

New Orleans, 8th August, 1848.

Duplicate invoice of osnaburgs per str. "Hecla," consigned to James Clack, Bellevue, for account of estate Isaac Franklin,

Bo't of Hazard and Green.¹⁴

¹⁴ P. F. Hazard and H. R. Green, Jr., commission merchants, 18 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 84.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

2 bales cotton osnaburgs, 1127 yds,		
a 81½c.,	\$92 98	
Drayage,	25	\$93 23
		<hr/>
Commission, 2½ pr. ct.,		2 33
		<hr/>
Debit, est. Isaac Franklin,		\$95 56
New Orleans, 8th August, 1848.		
	Hill, McLean & Co., Per R. T. Black.	

The estate of Isaac Franklin,		To Nalle and Cox.
To cash paid for 1 bale 4-4 osna-		
burgs, 599¼ yds., at 10½ cts.,	\$62 92	
1 bale 4-4 cotton, 771¾ yds., at 7c.,	54 02	
Drayage, 25 cts.; commission, \$2 93,	3 18	120 12
New Orleans, 10th August, 1848.		

Invoice of Osnaburgs per steamer Natchez, for account of Messrs. Armfield and Hayes, executors estate Isaac Franklin:	
Bought of McHatton, Pratt & Co.,	
6 bales La Osnaburgs, 3212¼, 7c.,	\$224 86
Drayage.	50
	<hr/>
	\$225 36
2½ per cent commission,	5 63
	<hr/>
Debit Armfield and Hayes, executors,	\$230 99
New Orleans, March 2, 1849.	
	Hill, McLean & Co., Per C. T. Estlen.

Estate Isaac Franklin,	
1849.	In account with Marshall and James.
March 2, 4 ps. fancy prints, 1281½,	14, 17 99
1 " 2-2 [2 quarters, or 18 in.] blue lawn, 34	25, 8 50
3 gros. polished bone buttons,	31½, 1 13
1 box hooks and eyes, 2 gross,	50 1 00
1 ps. blea[ched] shirting, 34,	8 2 72
	[276]

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

2 doz. col[ore]d spool cotton,	25	50
1 " white do. 200 yds.,		43
Baling, &c.,		25
		<hr/>
		\$32 72

8 per cent interest, to 7th December, 1849.

The Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.
P'pl. Time Int.
mo. dys.

1849.

April 27	To 10 pieces $\frac{7}{8}$ shirting, 298 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds. at 6c., drayage 35c. and up freight, 35c.	18 64 7 10 93
June 2 5	bales jeans, 1213 $\frac{1}{4}$ yds. at 38c.	461 03
	5 bales linsey, 1648 $\frac{3}{4}$ yds. at 38c.	461 65-922 68
	1 do. 4-4 shirting, 600 yds. at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ c.	43 50
	5 thread at 5b \$3 13, drayage 75c.	3 88
	Cash paid up freight on 11 bales,	10 00- 51 38 6 5 2 35
Dec. 10 5	pieces Linsey, 106 yds. at 30c.	31 80
	4 pieces Lowells, 120 $\frac{1}{4}$ yds. at 9c.	10 83
	Drayage,	25- 42 88

The Ex'rs of Isaac Franklin, dec'd, in La.,

Bought of Thomas J. Riggan,

80 pair of double-soled shoes for the plantation in

Louisiana, at \$1 25,

\$100 00

One box,

50

\$100 50

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Received, of O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, one hundred dollars and fifty cents, in full for the above bill of shoes.

18th September, 1849. Thomas J. Riggan, By John Riggan.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Buchannon, Carroll & Co.,¹⁵

4 bales cotton osnaburgs,

[No.]	[yds.]
-------	--------

405	632
-----	-----

406	633
-----	-----

32	642
----	-----

37	334 $\frac{1}{4}$
----	-------------------

224 $\frac{1}{4}$ a gc.,

\$201 72

Baling and drayage,

50

\$202 22

Probate,

25

New Orleans, January 8, 1850.

\$202 47

.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., will please pay the within bill, and charge to estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield, O. B. Hayes, Ex'rs.

January 9th, 1850.

Received payment in full for the within account.

Buchannon, Carroll, & Co., Per L. T. DeGroz.

9 January, 1850.

New Orleans, January 8th, 1850.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Wills, Pease & Co.,¹⁶

¹⁵ Henry Buchanan and I. [J.] W. Carroll, commission merchants, 85 Gravier Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 29, 34.

¹⁶ A. J. Wills and C. B. Pease, wholesale dry goods, 64 Gravier Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 186; New Orleans *Price-Current*, January 8, 1848.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

1 bale 4-4 Patapsco osnaburgs,	733½,	111½,	84 35
13 ps. 4-4 do	476¾,	111½,	54 83
Baling and drayage,			50
			<hr/> \$139 68

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., will please pay the within bill, and charge to estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield, O. B. Hayes, Ex'rs.

January 9th, 1850.

Received payment of Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co.

Wills, Pease & Co., Per Field.

9. HARDWARE AND BUILDING MATERIALS

New Orleans.

Mr. Isaac Franklin's estate,

1846.

Bought of Layton & Co.¹

Jan. 13.	4 bars $2 \times \frac{1}{2}$ Tenn. iron, 225 lbs.,		
	4 bars $3 \times \frac{1}{2}$ do do 285		
	4 bars $1\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ Tenn. iron, 206, 716		
	lbs, a 5c.,	35 80	
	4 bars $12 \times \frac{3}{8}$ Tenn. iron, 370, a 6c.,	22 20	
	4 bars 1 in square Tenn. iron, 143 a		
	5c.,	7 87	
	3 mess kettles, a \$12,	36 00	
	3 dozen Aimes' spades, a \$12,	36 00	
	2 dozen long hand shovels, a \$12,		
	cartage, \$1,	25 00	162 87
20	1 bbl. winter lard oil, 43 gals, a 6b.,	32 25	
	7 kegs nails, ass[orte]d a \$4 25, 2		
	boxes 10 by 12 glass, a 20b.,	43 25	
	55 feet hemp rope, 1 inch diameter, 20		
	lbs., a 1b.,	2 50	
	$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen mill files, \$5 50, $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen		
	flat bast[ar]d files, 14 a 16 inches, a		
	\$7,	6 25	
	$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen half round files, 14 16 inches,		
	a \$7 00, $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen cross cut files,		
	\$3 00,	5 00	
	$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen whip saw files a 20b, $\frac{1}{2}$		
	dozen 7 in. h[and] s[aw] files a		
	\$3 50,	3 00	

¹ Thomas and Buxton Layton, wholesale and retail "Dealers in hardware, iron, steel, nails, chains and anchors, Tennessee and English bar iron of every description." Their establishment was located at 53 Old Levee Street, New Orleans. *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 174; *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 362.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

	1/2 dozen 5 in. h[and] s[aw] files a 10b,		
	4 carp[en]t[c]r's door locks a 10b,	5 62	
	4 pr loose butts, 4 x 4, 3b, 4 pr.		
	do. do. 3 x 3, 1 1/2 b,	2 25	
	1 gross screws, each 15 1 3/4 in. 1 05-		
	13 1 1/2 in. 75-11 1 in. 50,	2 30	
	3 papers brads, 1 1 1/2 in, 15c; 1 1 in,		
	13c; 1 1/2 in, 10c	38	
	1 lb. gin band rivets, 8b. Cartage 4b.	1 50	
			104 30
Feb.	3, 1 mess kettle, \$12, cartage 2b.		12 25
	17, 16 bake pans, ass[orte]d, a \$1, 12 sheets		
	tin, for \$1,	17 00	
	1 bbl. lard oil, 38 galls, at 6b, 1 doz.		
	Hunt's axes, \$13,	41 50	
	1 bbl. linseed oil, 40 galls., at 110c,	44 00	
	2 kegs, 100 lbs. each, pure white lead,		
	\$9,	18 00	
	5 galls. spirits turpentine, at 8b, can,		
	6b.	5 75	
	1 box, 4 lbs, chrome yellow, a 4b.,	2 00	
21, 2	3 doz. No. O., Wood's hoes, \$4, 2 doz.		
	No. 1 Wood's hoes, \$4 50	21 00	
	2 mattocks 12b. 4 mattocks 8b	7 00	
	3 pickaxes 12b, 1 doz. No. 2 grubbing		
	hoes \$7	11 50	
	1 doz. No. 3 grubbing hoes, \$8	8 00	
	1 do Hunt's axes \$13, cartage 2b	13 25	
			60 75
24,	4 bars park gate iron, 2 of 8 1/2 - 1/4,		
	2 of 12 - 1/4, 280 lbs., at 6 1/2 c	15 40	
	6 bars 3/4 round Tennessee iron, 82		
	lbs., at 5 1/2 c, cartage, 2b	4 76	20 16
31,	1 M. percussion caps, No. 48, at 10b		1 25
Apr. 21,	1 coil white hemp rope, 1 1/4 in.		
	diam[eter], 368 lbs., at 11c	40 48	

2 The items purchased under date of March 21 were sent to Fairvue plantation.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

	8 kegs nails, 2 of 20, 2 of 12, 2 of 10,		
	1 of 6, 1 of 5 in., spikes, at \$4 75	38 00	
	1 b[un]dle German steel, 112 lbs., at		
	13c	14 56	
	2 French bolts, 10 in., at 2b, 4-5 in.		
	hooks in plates, at 2b	1 50	
	1 keg green paint, \$2, 6 paint		
	brushes, 1 a 10b., 1 a 9b., 1 a 7b.,		
	1 a 4b., 1 a 3b., 1 a 1b,	6 25	
	25 lbs. whiting, a 5c, 1 lb. lampblack,		
	15c,	1 40	
	2 quires sand paper, a 2b, 3 doz. curry		
	combs, 10b,	4 25	
	2 augers, 1 3/8, 1 1/2 in., a 2b, 1 doz. pr		
	traces, \$8,	8 50	
	1 bdl. German steel, 112 lbs., a 13c,	14 56	
	14 bars Ten iron, 8 1 1/2 x 1/2, 6 2 1/2		
	x 3/4, 796 lbs, a 5	39 80	
	14 bars round Ten iron, 8 3/4, 6 1 in.;		
	4 bars square do. do. 1 1/4 in., 625		
	lbs., a 5 1/2,	34 38	
	Cartage,	75	238 14
17,	5 bbls. tar, a \$3,	15 00	
	5 kegs cut nails, 3 12d, 2 10d, a \$4 75,		
	cartage 4b.	24 35	
Mar. 10,	2 doz. No. O Wood's hoes, \$4,	8 00	
	6 doz. No. 1 do. do. \$4 1/2	27 00	
	2 doz. No. 2 do. do. \$4 1/2	9 00	
	4 doz curry combs, 12b.,	6 00	
10-12	doz, 5 in. French locks, \$10.	8 33	
	1 doz. loose butts, 3-3 at 14b	1 75	
	1 doz. butts, 3-2 1/2, 2 doz. partial		
	butts, at 20b	6 75	
	2 doz. setts Cincinnati latches to		
	screw, at \$3 50	7 00	
	6 doz. knob latches spring, at 4b	3 00	
	2 gross 1 3/4 screws, No. 13, at 85c	1 70	
	2 gross 1 1/2 in. screws, No. 14, at 85c	1 70	

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

	2 gross 1¼ in. screws, 1 No. 10, 1 No.		
	11, at 50c	1 00	
	2 gross 1 in. screws, 1 No. 10, 1 No.		
	11, at 45c	90	
	2 papers, 14 oz., tacks, at 10c	20	
	8 papers brads, 1 of 1¾ at 25c, 3 of		
	1½ at 20c, 3 of 1¼, at 15c, and 1		
	of ¾ at 10c	1 40	
	3 doz. sheets tin, at 8b	3 00	
	6 lbs. soft solder, at 30c	1 80	
	3 double plane bitts, 1 of 2 in. at 4b,		
	1 of 2¼ in. at 5b, 1 of 2½ in. at 5b	1 75	
	1 sett trimming chisels, ¼ to 1½ in.,		
	at 20b,	2 50	
	1 do do gouges, ¼ to 1½ in., at		
	\$3, cartage, 2b	3 25	96 03
April 21,	4 shingling hatchets, a 6b., 5 lbs. dry		
	Ven[etian] red, a 10c.,	3 50	
	3 carpenter's door locks, 2 right, 1		
	left, at 10b.,	3 75	
	2 knob latches, 1 right, 1 left, a 40c.,	80	
	1 tin can, 3b., ½ gallon copal var-		
	nish, a \$3,	1 88	
	2 kegs 50 lbs. ea[ch] white lead, a		
	\$4 50, cartage, 4b.,	9 50	113 97
25, 40	pr. hook hinges, as[sor]t[ed], 12 to		
	18 in., 161 lb. 10,	16 10	
	2 Hunt's foot adzes, a 20b., 1 iron		
	brace, \$1,	6 00	
	8 bitts, ass[orte]d, for \$3,	3 00	
	7 eye augers, 2¾, 2 1, 2 ½, and 1		
	¾ in., 33 q[ui]r[es] [sand paper],		
	1b.,	4 13	
	2 hand axes, 1 10b., 1 12b.,	2 75	
	2 shingling hatchets, No. 2, a 6b.,	1 50	
	2 pr. compasses, a 2b., 1 pr. table		
	butts, 20c.,	70	
	1 Turkey oil stone, 4½ lb., a 4b.,	2 25	

ISAAC FRANKLIN

	3 4 fold 2 foot rules, a 8b.,	3 00	
	10 lbs. gin band rivets, a 8b.,	10 00	
	1½ doz. flat bast[ar]d files, 15 in., a \$7,	3 50	
	4 6 in. flat bolts, a 20c.,	80	
	2 4 in. sq[ua]r[e] bolts, a 10c.,	20	
	4 4 in. plate hooks, a 20.,	80	
	2 lbs. lamp black, a 15c.,	30	
	2 London spring hand saws, a 18b.,	4 50	
	2 tying squares, 1 6b., 1 8b.,	1 75	
	1 steel square, 10b., 1 iron square,		
	3b.,	1 63	
	5 kegs pure white lead, 50 lbs. ea.,		
	\$4 50,	22 50	
	2 kegs 6 nails, \$4 75, 1 box 10 × 12		
	glass, 20b., cartage, 2b.,	12 25	97 66
July 29,	1 bbl. lard oil, 40 gal, a 70c.,	28 00	
	6 bars, 4 × ¾ Tenn. iron, 872 lbs. a		
	5c.,	43 60	
	2 bars, 1¾ × 1, do 185 lbs. a 5c.,	9 25	
	2 bales 1 in. round		
	Tenn. iron,		
	2 bars 1 in. do do	422 lbs. a 5½,	23 21
	2 " 1¼ in. do do		
	2 " ½ in. do do	33 lbs. a 6½,	2 15
	2 " ⅝ in. do do		
	2 " PG iron, 6 × ½, 212 lbs. 6c.	12 72	
	1 bbl. tallow, 150 lbs. a 10c., cartage		
	4b.,	15 50	134 43
Aug. 14,	9 kegs cut nails, 4 10, 2 6, 2 8, 1 12,		
	a \$4 75,	42 75	
	1 keg 5 in. moot spikes, 100 lbs. a 8c.,	8 00	
	2 doz. hand saw files, a 10c.,	2 50	
	½ " mill saw files, a \$5 50,	2 75	
	2 jack planes, a 10b.,	2 50	
	1 smoothing plane, 8b., 4 in. Fr.		
	locks, 6b.,	4 00	
	2 8 in. French locks, a 14b.,	3 50	
	2 bars Tenn. iron, 3 × ¼, 71 lbs., a		
	6c.,	4 26	

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

	5	"	round Tenn. iron,	} 80 lbs.		
	5	"	do do	} a 61½c.,	5 20	
			Cartage, 4b.,	50	75 96	
Sept.	4,	20	Russia sheet iron bake pans,			
			ass[orte]d, a \$1.,		20 00	
Oct.	2,	1	grindstone, 315 lbs., a 2c.,	6 30		
			5 kegs cut nails, ass[orte]d, a \$5,			
			cartage 2b.,	25 25	31 55	
	13,	7	bars German steel, 112 lbs., a 13c.,	14 56		
			6 " ½ in. round Tenn. iron, 55			
			lbs. a 61½c.,	3 58		
			½ doz. blacksmith's files, a \$5 50,	2 75		
			2 rat tail files, 1 30c., 1 20c., cartage			
			2b.,	75	21 64	
	14,	2	doz. Hunt's axes a \$14,	28 00		
			1 glazier's diamond, \$4 50, cartage			
			2b.,	4 75	32 75	
Nov.	21,	1	bbl. lard oil, 43 gal., a 70c.,	30 10		
			3 kegs cut nails, 1 12, 1 10, 1 6, a \$5,	15 00		
			6 white-wash brushes, a 5b.,	3 75		
			6 paint brushes, ass[orte]d, a 7b.,	5 25		
			1 keg white lead, a 18b.,	2 25		
			11 ½ in. casteel [cast steel], a 18c.,			
			cartage 2b.,	2 23	58 58	
Dec.	1,	1	bdle. German steel, 112 lbs., a 13c.,	14 56		
			4 bars Tenn. iron, 11 × ¾, 224 lbs.,			
			a 51½,	12 32		
			4 " do 2¼ × ¾, 328 lbs., a 5,	16 40		
			1 bar EB steel, 87 lbs., 16c., cartage			
			25c.,	14 17	57 45	
					<u>\$1,378 99</u>	

In order to comply with the law, Mr. Layton will please prove the within account, and present to Nalle and Cox, No. 90 Camp street, who will pay the same, \$1,378 99, and charge estate Franklin.

John Armfield, }
O. B. Hayes, } Executors.

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ISAAC FRANKLIN

New Orleans,

184[7]

M. ———— Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Layton & Co. . . .

1847.

Jan.	15	4 Bars Tenn. iron, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$		
		6 do do $2\frac{1}{2}$ } 240 lbs. at 5c	12 00	
		and $\frac{3}{8}$		
		1 Bdle do do $\frac{1}{2}$ in round,		
		102 lbs. at $6\frac{1}{2}$ c	6 63	
		2 Bars $\frac{3}{4}$ square Tenn. iron }		
		6 do 1 in. do do }		
		6 do $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. do do }		
		6 do 1 in. do do }		
		[940 lbs. at $5\frac{1}{2}$ c	57 70	
		6 Flat files, 3 at 4b, 3 at 5b	3 37	
		$\frac{1}{2}$ doz. $\frac{1}{2}$ round 15 in. files, \$7	3 50	
		6 " Curry combs at 12b, Cartage		
		2b	9 25	
				86 45
Feb.	9	$\frac{1}{2}$ doz. padlocks at \$4 50	2 25	
		1 pair shoe pincers	60	
		1 doz. shoemakers' awls at 2b	25	
				3 10
	18	6 Bars iron, 5 and $\frac{5}{8}$, 686 lbs, at 5c	34 36	
		1 Bdle $\frac{3}{8}$ round iron, 111 lbs, at 7c.	7 77	
	15	Bars $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ Tenn. iron, 515 lbs,		
		at 6c	30 90	
	5	" $\frac{1}{2}$ in. round do do,		
		43 lbs, at $6\frac{1}{2}$ c	2 80	
	6	Bars Plough plates, do do,		
		12 and $\frac{3}{8}$, 627 lbs, 6c	37 62	
	14	Kegs cut nails, 6 of 10d, 6 of 8d		
		2 of 6d \$5	70 00	
	6	Bbls tar at \$3 50, 1 cross-cut saw,		
		8 feet 8b	29 00	
	1	hand saw at 16b, 1 doz Ames'		
		spades \$13	15 00	
	1	doz long handle shovels	12 00	
	1	large wire rat-trap 10b	1 25	

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

	1 pair screw arm match planes	5 00	
	5 single iron plane irons, 2¼ and 2 and 3-16,	30c	1 50
	1 jointer plane at 14b, 2 in socket chisels	6b	3 25
	4 augers, 2 of 6, 1 of 3, and 1 of 2-4-17 q[ui]r[c]s [sandpaper]	1b	2 13
	1 trying square, 9 ins.		1 00
	1 pair steel compasses,	6b	75
	1 2 foot 4 fold rule		1 25
	1 doz mill saw files, 14 ins.		5 50
	1 box 4b		50
	10 2 quart tin buckets at 12b, cartage 10b		16 25
			277 77
March 23	15 doz No. 1 Woods' hoes at \$4 50 Cartage	2b	67 75
April 12	1 bbl. best lard oil, 4[1]½ gallons	85c	35 28
	1 pig lead, 65 lbs,	5c	3 25
	2 jack-planes at 10b, cartage	2b	2 75
			41 28
July 24	20 kegs cut-nails, assorted, at \$5 50		110 00
	1 box, 4b, 100 lbs hook hinges, assorted, 12 to 18 in.,	8c	8 50
	4 gross 1½ in. screws		4 00
	1 doz french locks, 6 of 4 in. and 6 of 5 in.,		8 25
	2 doz chalk lines at 5b, 2 jackplanes	10b	3 75
	20 lbs chalk at 2c, 3 q[ui]r[c]s sand paper	30c	1 30
July 24	1 doz. 14 in. mill sawfiles	8b	6 00
	½ doz. cross cut	" \$27 5	1 38
	1 " hand	" 10b	1 25
	½ " pit	" 18b	1 12
	1 Rowland's mill saw 8 feet	8b	8 00
	1 circular saw 30 in.		15 00
	1 steel framing square		1 25

ISAAC FRANKLIN

	10 lbs. dry ven[etian] red	10c	1 00	
	1 gal. copal varnish \$3 can	2b	3 25	
	Cartage	6b	75	
				\$174 80
Oct. 16	80 prs. hook hinges			
	14 in.			
	40 prs. " 18 in.	521 at 8c	41 68	
	6 gross wood screws 1½ in.	12c 4b	3 00	
	4 prs. 3 in. brass butts	30c	1 20	
	2 cupboard locks 4b, 10 lbs glue	2b	3 50	
	20 lbs. gin bristles H.		15 00	
	2 lbs. wirewrought pump tacks	4b	1 00	
	20 kegs cut nails 8-6 8-10 2-12 2-20			
		\$5 5	110 00	
	1 bdle. ¾ round Tenn. iron	125		
	lbs.	7c	8 75	
	12 bars 2½ and ¾	" "	115	
	lbs.	5c	55 75	
	6 bars ⅝	" "	95 lbs	
	8 " "	" "	61½c	6 18
	Cartage		1 00	
				\$247 06
26	1 keg 4½ in. tent spikes		5 50	
	1 bundle German steel 112 lbs.	12c	13 44	
	1 " ½ in. sq[ua]r[e] Tenn. iron			
	109 lbs.	6⅓c	7 09	
	6 bars ½ in. round	" "		
	40 lbs.	6½c	2 60	
	6 bars 1½ in. by ½	" "		
	245 lbs.	5c	12 25	
	2 bdls. ½ in hoop iron 56 lbs. Eng.			
	112 lbs.	7c	7 84	
	1 bbl. lard oil, 41 gals.	90c	36 90	
	6 shop files assorted,	4b	3 00	
	1 cart saddle \$2 75, 1 cart bridle	6b	3 50	
	1 cart breeching \$2 50, one collar	6b	3 25	
	1 pr. hames 8b, 1 black chain	6b		
	cartage	2b	2 00	
				\$97 37

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Nov.	2	16 bake pans made to order	6b	12 00	
		half-doz. sifters assorted	\$4 00		
		cartage	2b	2 25	14 25
	23	2 doz. Collin's axes \$13, cartage	2b		26 25
Dec.	7	1 bbl. lard oil, 41 galls.	80c	32 80	
		1 bdle. 1-2 in. round Tenn. iron	105		
		lbs.	61½c	6 83	
		3 hand saws 1 coarse, 2 fine	\$2	6 00	
		3 No. 2 shingling hatchets	6b	2 25	
		1 Hunt's foot adze.	18b	2 25	
		1 Hunt's hand axe	\$5	2 00	
		1-2 doz. 11 in. cross cut sawfiles	\$4	2 00	
		Cartage	2b	25	
				<hr/>	54 38
		4 bbls. tar 4c, cartage	2b		16 25
1848					
Jan.	7	2½ doz. Hunt's axes	\$13	32 50	
		Cartage	2b	25	
				<hr/>	32 75
					<hr/>
					1139 46

Cr.

1847					
Nov.	2	By 1 circular saw returned		15 00	
				<hr/>	1124 46

Estate of Isaac Franklin.

1847			Bought of Kirkland & Co.,	
June	22	2 Millsaw files 4b each	\$1 00	
		1 do do 16c	16	
		1 Piece mosquito netting	1 25	
			<hr/>	\$2 41

June 22, 1847. Rec'd payment of Jas. Watson,
Kirkland & Co.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

New Orleans, July 23, 1847.

M——— Steamer Magnolia,

Bought of Slark, Day, Stauffer & Co.^a

2 dozen Collins' Kentucky hand-axes at \$14 28 00

Drayage 2b 25

\$28 25

Estate of Isaac Franklin.

Received pay,

S., D., S. & Co., per J. Wang.

New Orleans, August 16, 1847.

Steamboat Dallas,

Bought of Slark, Day, Stauffer & Co.

1 bale oakum 50 lb, at 7½c 3 75

1 keg 4⅓ spikes 100 lb, 5c 5 00

Drayage 25

9 00

Estate of Franklin.

Estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,

Bought of Kirkland & Co.

1847.

August 23 2 mill saw files, 50c each \$1 00

Received payment of J. Watson,

Kirkland & Co.

New Orleans, Nov. 2d, 1847.

Estate of Isaac Franklin

Bought of Slark, Day, Stauffer & Co.

½ doz. brass padlocks 6c 38

^a Robert Slark, James I. Day, and J. H. Stauffer, dealers in hardware, corner Canal and Magazine streets, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 196, 524-25, 535. The company ran a detailed advertisement of their wares in the *St. Francisville Louisiana Chronicle*, June 28, 1845.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

1 chest lock	60
1 desk	1 00
	<hr/>
	1 98

Received payment,

S. D. S. & Co. pr. A. Goodug.

New Orleans.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Layton & Co.

1848.

Jan'y 17,	3 doz. 1/2 gall. tin buckets,	12b	4 50	
	3 doz. tin cups,	4b	1 50	
	40 pairs trace chains,	70c.	28 00	
	3 dozen padlocks,	\$4 40	13 50	
	2 do painted buckets,	20b	5 00	
	15 do No. 1 hoes,	\$4 50	67 50	
	1 blacksmith's bellows, 34 in.		20 00	
	Cartage to steamboat Magnolia,		25	
			<hr/>	140 25
27,	3 1/2 dozen blind bridles,	\$9	30 00	
	3 do curry combs,	12b	4 50	
	1 hand axe, No. 5,	16b	2 00	
	1 hand saw 16b, 1 panel saw	16b	4 00	
	2 plastering trowels,	12b	3 00	
	2 brick trowels,	9b	2 25	
	1/2 dozen padlocks,	\$4	2 00	
	2 pocket rules,	10b	2 50	
	5 Am. socket chisels, 1 1/4, 1 1/2, 1 3/4,			
	2, 32 q[ui]r[e]s [sandpaper]	15c	4 80	
	1 two inch brass stop lock		6 00	
	1 iron brace,	12b	1 50	
	2 brass locks, 90c and 75c		1 65	
	5 gross wood screws, 1 at 40c, 1 30c,			
	1 45c, 1 60c, and 1 25c,		2 00	
	9 augers, 1 2, 1 3, 2 4, 1 5, 1 6, 1 7,			
	and 2 8-4, 47 q[ui]r[e]s [sand-			
	paper] at	1b	5 88	

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ISAAC FRANKLIN

1 broad axe \$3, 2 dozen curry combs	
12b	6 00
1 auger bit, each 4-16 20c, 5-16 25c,	
6-16 30c, 7-16 35c, 10-16 50c, and	
11-16 55c,	2 15
12 bake pans, 8 12 × 16, 4 14 × 14,	
at	6b 9 00
2 pair cotton cards, 4b	1 00
1/2 dozen horse cards,	10b 63
1 do 4 1/2 in. hand saw files	1 25
1/2 do 11 inch cross-cut saw files,	
\$4	2 60
1 gallon copal varnish 20b, can 2b	2 75
1 keg 10b, 10 galls. boiled paint oil	
at 8b	11 25
1 keg (50 lb.) pure white lead	4 50
5 kegs cut nails 3 10d, 2 12d., at \$5	25 00
2 stock kettles 1 24 and 1 28 in., 52	
in., at 60c	31 20
1 bundle 5-16 round Tenn. iron 96	
lb., at 7 1/2c	7 20
1 bdle 3/4 × 3/8 do do 100 lb, 7c	7 00
4 bars 4 1/2 × 5/8 do do	} 740 lb, 5c 37 00
4 do 2 1/2 × 1/2 do do	
6 do 1/2 in. sq. do do	38 lb, 6 1/2c 2 47
3 do 3/8 do do do	15 lb, 7c 1 05
12 do 1/4 do do do	19 lb, 7 1/2c 1 42
3 do 5/8 do do do	39 lb, 6 1/2c 2 53
6 do 7/4 round do do	81 lb, 5 1/2c 4 46
3 do 2 × 1/4 do do	} 238 lb, 6c 14 28
3 do 1 3/4 × 1/4 do do	
6 do 1 1/2 × 1/4 do do	
12 do 1 in. sq. do do	530 lb,
	5 1/2c 29 15
1 sheet 1 1/8 inch steel iron 59 lb, at 7c	3 43
8 bars 3/8 round Tenn. iron	3 14
45 lb, at 7c	3 15
Cartage to steamboat Natchez,	75
29, 11 lb chalk,	2c 20

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

	2 cabinet rasps, 1 60c, 1 50c	1 10	
	2 brass cupboard locks, at 4b	1 00	
	1/2 doz. pair 3 in. butts,	12b 75	
	3 lb lamp black,	1b 38	
	1 Hunts foot adze,	18b. 2 25	
	1 bar 1/2 inch cast steel, 7 lb. at 18c	1 26	
		<hr/>	6 96
Feb. 21.	2 doz. best horse collars, \$10	20 00	
	2 bars Tenn iron, 3 3/4, 236 lbs. 5c.	11 80	
	Cartage to steamboat Magnolia,	25	
		<hr/>	32 05
March 7.	1 Rowland's mill saw, 8 feet,	7 00	
	6 kegs cut nails, 4 10 d. 2 12d. \$5,	30 00	
	4 bars 5/8 round Tenn iron 40 lbs.	6 1/2c 2 60	
	Cartage to steamboat Magnolia,	25	
		<hr/>	39 85
Mar. 16.	10 bars 3 1/4 Tenn iron, 376 lbs. 6c.	22 56	
	1 gallon Japan varnish, 12b. can 2b.	1 75	
	2 doz. Collins axes, heavy, \$13,	26 00	
	1 brass stop cock 1 1/2 inch bore,	4 00	
	Cartage to steamboat Marengo,	25	
		<hr/>	54 56
Mar. 28.	1 bbl. lard oil, 42 gal. 70c.	29 40	
	150 lbs. tallow, 10c.	15 00	
	1 doz. 11 in. tent saw files,	4 00	
	1 spring balance, 40 lbs.	2 00	
	Cartage to steamboat Magnolia,	25	
		<hr/>	50 65
			607 02
Mar. 28.	By 1 brass connecting cock, returned,	6 00	
		<hr/>	\$601 02
April 15.	To 1 stock kettle, 24 in. 60c.	14 40	
	Cartage to steamboat Magnolia,	25	
		<hr/>	14 65
May 2,	1 bale German steel, 112 lbs 12c.	13 44	
	1 blacksmith's vice, 73 lbs 15c.	10 95	

ISAAC FRANKLIN

		box 4b., 15 pr. trace chains, 70c.	11 00	
		Cartage to steamboat Concordia,	25	
			—	35 64
May	30.	8 kegs nails, 4 10d. 2 12d. 2 20d. \$5,	40 00	
		8 bars 1½ in round Tenn iron, 68 lbs		
		61½c.	4 42	
		1½ keg HF powder,	3 50	
		1 doz. horse collars,	10 00	
		1 8 in French lock, 14b.	1 75	
		15 prs. trace chains, 70c	10 50	
		2 bags shot, 1 No 2, 1 No 3, 12b.	3 00	
		1 M. perc[ussion] caps, 54, 10b.	1 25	
		Cartage to steamboat Concordia,	25	
			—	74 67
June	27.	1 bundle iron wire No 18 10, 16c	1 60	
		2 boxes Hunt's heavy axes, \$13,	26 00	
		6 barrels tar, \$3 50	21 00	
		1 spring balance with dish. 40 lbs	3 50	
		Cartage to steamboat Concordia,	50	
			—	52 60
Aug.	8.	2 bbls w[inter] s[trained] lard oil, 43,		
		41, 84 gals. 70c.	58 80	
		1 bbl. 150 lbs tallow, 10c.	15 00	
		5 kegs nails 2 12d. 2 10d. 1 20d. \$5.	25 00	
		½ doz 4 in French locks, \$7 50	3 75	
		½ doz flat bast[ar]d files assorted,		
		\$7 00,	3 50	
		½ doz hand saw files, 10b.	63	
		1 chest lock, 4b.	50	
		2 cupboard locks, 40c.	80	
		2 pr 3 in brass butts, 3b.	75	
		7 bars Tenn iron, 2 2½-¾, 3 2¼-½,		
		2 1½-½, 534 lbs, 5c.	26 70	
		10 bars round Tenn iron, 5⅝, 5½ in,		
		77 lb, 61½c.	5 00	
		5 bars round Tenn iron, ⅝ in 23 lb		
		7c.	1 61	
		Cartage to steamboat Concordia,	50	
			—	142 54

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Aug.	15.	1 bbl. best lamp oil, 41½ gals. 10b	51 88	
		1 brass scale beam. 600 lbs. and		
		2 pens,	6 50	
		Cartage to stmb't Concordia	25	
			—	58 63
Aug.	29.	1 bundle ⅝ round Tenn iron, and		
		1 do ½ do do 215 lbs		
		6½c.	13 98	
		6 bars 2½-¾ in round Tenn iron,		
		654 lbs, 5c.	32 70	
		1 bundle German steel, 112 lbs. 13 c.	14 56	
		½ doz. bl[ac]ks[mith] files, assorted,		
		\$7,	3 50	
		1 horse rasp,	65	
		Cartage to steamboat Concordia,	25	
			—	65 64
Sept.	5.	10 kegs nails, 2 8d, 4 10d, 2 12d,		
		2 20d, \$5 00	50 00	
		Cartage to steamboat Concordia,	25	
			—	50 25
Sept.	26.	1 M H anvil, 223 lbs, 13c.	28 99	
		3 kegs nails, 1 40d, 2 50d, \$5,	15 00	
		2 socket chisels, 2 in. 80c.	1 60	
		2 8 in French locks, 14b.	3 50	
		75 feet 3 in Manilla rope 25 lb. 15c.	3 75	
		½ doz. sifters, assorted, a \$4,	2 00	
		Cartage to str. Magnolia,	25	
			—	55 09
Oct.	3.	1 Rowland's mill saw G. S. 8 feet,	8 00	
		4 bars ¾ round Tennessee iron		
		58 lb. 5½c,	3 19	
		4 bars ⅝ round do. do. }		
		4 do. ½ do. do. do. }		
		72 lbs. a 6½	4 68	
		Cartage to str. Magnolia,	25	
			—	16 12
	10.	3 doz. L[ayton] & Co.'s cane knives, a		
		\$14,	42 00	
	31.	1 box 4b, containing	50	

ISAAC FRANKLIN

	2 fore planes, a 12b, 2 jack planes, a 10b.	5 50	
	2 smoothing planes, a 8b,	2 00	
	4 Am. socket chisels, two 2 in., two 1½ in., 28 q[ui]r[e]s, 15c	4 20	
	2 9 in., try squares, a 80c.	1 60	
	1 hatchet, No. 2, 6b.	75	
	1 compass saw, 4b,	50	
	6 double plane bitts, two of 2½, two of 2⅜, two of 2½ a 4b,	3 00	
	4 1 in., auger bitts, a 6b,	3 00	
	2 ½ in., do. do., a 35c,	70	
	2 ⅝ in., do. do., a 45c,	90	
	5 lb. soft solder, a 30c,	1 50	
	1 keg 5½ in. wrought spikes, 100 lbs. a 8,	8 00	
	Cartage to str. Magnolia,	25	
		<hr/>	32 40
28.	1 fore plane, 12b, 1 jack plane, 10b,	2 75	
	1 smooth plane, 8b, 2 hand saws 12b,	4 00	
	2 try squares, 9 in., a 80, box, 4b,	2 10	
	1 foot adze, 18b,	2 25	
	8 kegs nails, 2 20d, 2 12d, 2 10d a \$5,	40 00	
	1 bbl. w[inter] s[trained] lard oil, 42 gals., a 80c,	33 60	
	1 pig lead, 70 lbs, a 5c,	3 50	
	Cartage to str. Magnolia,	50	
		<hr/>	88 70
			<hr/>
			\$1,329 95

10. CORN, HAY, AND OATS¹

Received, March 12, 1847, of James Watson, eighty dollars on acc't of one boat load of corn sold to the estate of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.

\$80 00

Richard Plummer.

Rec'd of James Watson, for the estate of I. Franklin, one hundred and sixty-five dollars, it being for part pay on load of corn bought this day.

Angola, April 5th, 1847.

Scarlet Watson,
John N. Paddock.

Bellevue, April 5th, 1847.

\$1750 Messrs. Dick and Hill, Gents. Please pay to Scarlett Watson and John N. Paddock seventeen hundred and fifty dollars, for a boat load of corn, and charge to estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant.

Scarlet Watson, Jas. S. Clack, Agent.
John N. Paddock,
Paid 6th April, 1847.

¹ There are no separate vouchers for several purchases of corn. On May 17, 1846, Watson paid out of proceeds from the woodyard, \$725 to Mitchell Richardville for a boatload of corn; on May 23, \$500 to Mullen and Bates for their boat and 800 barrels of corn; and on January 16, 1847, \$930 for a boatload of corn. James S. Clack paid \$230 for a boatload of corn and Dick and Hill paid Richard Plummer \$2,300 for corn and pork on March 12, 1847. Clack paid Colonel Barrow \$306 for 510 barrels of corn on April 15 of the same year; \$260 was paid for a boatload of corn on May 19, 1848; \$499 was paid for another load on December 25, 1848; and \$156.25 was paid to Thomas W. Taylor for 250 barrels on January 10, 1849. Watson paid \$8.72 on May 11, 1846, for two bales of hay; \$30.25 on July 8 for four bales of hay and two pieces of bagging; and \$3.10 on October 6 for a bale of hay. A quantity of hay, purchased March 31, 1848, cost \$240.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Angola, April 10th, 1847.

Rec'd of James Watson, for the estate of Isaac Franklin, four hundred and fifty dollars, it being for hay, oats and corn.

George B. Dennis.

Bellevue, April 10, 1847.

\$2800 At sight, pay to the order of George B. Dennis, two thousand eight hundred dollars; it being a balance for seventy tons of hay, five hundred bushels of oats, and two hundred bushels of corn; and charge to account of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't. serv't.

James S. Clack, agent.

Messrs. Dick and Hill, New Orleans.

The amount to be paid by Dick and Hill, is \$1057 97.

John Armfield.

George B. Dennis.

The amount received from sales of a part of the hay, is \$1742 03, leaving the balance \$1057 97 to be paid by Dick and Hill, and charged to the estate.

James Watson.

Paid 22d April, 1847.

Bellevue, April 12th, 1847.

\$471 60 At sight, please pay to George Dennis, or bearer, the sum of four hundred and seventy-one dollars and sixty cents, the same being for corn and hay, bought of said Dennis, for the estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant.

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

To Messrs. Dick and Hill, New Orleans.

Paid 22d April, 1847.

John Armfield.

Angola, April 26, 1847.

Rec'd of James S. Clack, agent for estate of Isaac Franklin, sixteen hundred and seventy dollars, for a boat and load of corn.

T. O. Frazier.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Angola, February 28th, 1848.

\$677 At sight, pay to the order of Samuel McMakin, six hundred and seventy-seven dollars, and charge to account of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant, the same being for a boat load of corn.

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

Messrs. Nalle and Cox, New Orleans.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., will please pay the within draft, and charge the same to account of estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield,

February 29th, 1848.

Executor of Isaac Franklin.

Paid 29th.

Samuel McMakin.

[January, 1850 (?)]

\$625 At sight, pay to the order of Stephen Hand, six hundred and twenty-five dollars, it being a balance for a boat load of corn, and charge to account of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't. serv't.,

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Stephen Hand.

\$675

Angola, January 21st, 1850.

At sight, please pay to the order of John S. Cowan, six hundred and seventy-five dollars for a boat load of corn, and charge to acct. of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't. servant.

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans,

83 Canal St.

Rec'd payment,

John S. Cowan.

\$1596

Bellevue, January 22d, 1850.

At sight, please pay to the order of P. R. Lott, one thousand

ISAAC FRANKLIN

five hundred and ninety-six dollars for two boat loads of corn,
and charge to the estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your
most ob't servant,

James S. Clack, *Agent*.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

P. R. Lott.

\$800

Bellevue, January 28th, 1850.

At sight, pay to the order of Dickson Weathers, eight hundred
dollars for a boat load of corn, and charge to acct. of estate of
Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant,

James S. Clack, *Agent*.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans,
83 Canal St.

Dickson Weathers.

\$378 50.

Bellevue, February 1st, 1850.

At sight, pay to the order of Charles Pleasants, three hundred
and seventy-eight dollars and 50-100, for twenty-one tons of hay,
and charge to acct. of the estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of
your most ob't servant,

James S. Clack, *Agent*,

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Charles Pleasants.

Received payment of the within 5th Feb., 1850.

Phineas T. Pleasants, *per* C. J. Plausom.

\$1,000,

Bellevue, May 8th 1850.

At sight, pay to the order of N. C. Thomas, one thousand
dollars for a boat load of corn, and charge to account of the
estate of Isaac Franklin, . . . [per] advice of

Your most ob't servant,

James S. Clack, *Agent*.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co, New Orleans.

N. C. Thomas.

11. HORSES AND MULES ¹

Red River Landing, March 2d, 1847.

Messrs. Dick and Hill, Gents. Please pay to W. H. Kirkland and Co. sixty dollars for a work horse, and charge to estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most obedient servant.

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

W. H. Kirkland and Co.

Paid 4th March, 1847.

Bayou Sara, March 6th, 1847.

Messrs. Dick and Hill, Gents. Please pay Stephen Camron two hundred and fifty dollars, for five horses, and charge estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant.

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

Pay to P. Letret,

Stephen Cameron.

Pay to Follain and Bellocq,²

P. Letret.

Follain and Bellocq.

Paid 9th March, 1847.

Bayou Sara, March 6th, 1847.

Messrs. Dick and Hill, Gents. Please pay to Thomas M. Rankin one hundred and sixty-five dollars, for three mules, and charge to estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant.

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

T. M. Rankin.

Paid 11th March, 1847.

¹ There is no separate voucher for a mule which James S. Clack purchased of James Dickinson on December 16, 1847, for \$75.

² A. Follain and J. B. Bellocq, commission merchants, 25 St. Louis Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, pp. 79, 256.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Estate of Isaac Franklin Dr.

1848

To William Franklin,³

Jan, 29 For 40 mules \$100 each, delivered on
the plantation in West Feliciana

4000 00

.

Messrs. Nalle and Cox will please pay the above account,
and charge the same to account of the estate of Isaac Frank-
lin.

John Armfield,

O. B. Hayes,

Executors of J. [I.] Franklin, dec'd.

William Franklin.

³ Isaac Franklin's brother, a resident of Sumner County, Tennessee.

12. SALARIES, WAGES, AND EXECUTORS' COMMISSIONS

Received of John Armfield, Esq., executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, a draft on Dick and Hill, for six thousand and four hundred dollars, on account of my commission as one of the executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased, in Louisiana.

22d July, 1847.

O. B. Hayes.

\$6400

The Succ'n of Isaac Franklin, dec'd, in La.

To O. B. Hayes, one of the Ex'ors of said estate, Dr.

For services rendered said estate, in superintending the business and plantations in Louisiana, purchasing slaves and executing the trusts contained in the will of the late Isaac Franklin, deceased, other and beyond the ordinary duties of executor, during the second year of his executorship.

[February 12, 1848]

\$1500.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

1848.

To O. B. Hayes, executor, Dr.

Dec. [19] For his services in superintending the business of the estate, other and beyond the ordinary duties of executor, for the third year of his executorship,

\$1000

O. B. Hayes.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To O. B. Hayes, Ex'r, Dr.

1849, December, For his services in superintending the business of the estate, other and beyond the ordinary duties of executor, for the fourth year of his executorship.

\$1000.

O. B. Hayes.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Received of O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, a draft on Messrs. Dick and Hill of New Orleans, for six thousand four hundred dollars at sight, on account of my commissions as one of the executors of said estate in Louisiana, Nashville, 16th October, 1847.

John Armfield.

The Succ'n of Isaac Franklin, dec'd, in La.

To John Armfield, one of the Exec'rs of said estate, Dr.

For services rendered said estate, in superintending the business on plantations in Louisiana, purchasing slaves and executing the trusts contained in the will of the late Isaac Franklin, other and beyond the ordinary duties of executor, during the second year of his executorship. \$1500.

John Armfield, as executor of said estate in Louisiana, is authorized to detain from the monies belonging to said estate, in hands, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, for the above services, during the second year of his executorship.

O. B. Hayes,

One of the Ex'ors of Isaac Franklin, in Louisiana,
New Orleans, 12th Feb., 1848.

Feb. 20, [1849] John Armfield, for services over ordinary duties of executor, for third year, [\$]1000 00

New Orleans, May 17th, 1850.

Estate of Isaac Franklin, Dr.

To John Armfield, Executor.

For services rendered the past year, 1849, to the estate of Isaac Franklin, as executor, \$1000 00

John Armfield.

[1847] Paid James S. Clack,¹ for services rendered to 1st January, 1847, [\$]1000 00

¹ General agent or superintendent of all of Franklin's plantations in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, 1843-1850.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Jany. 15. [1848] James S. Clack [balance of his salary for 1847],
[\$]1250 00

Estate of Isaac Franklin,²

To Jas. S. Clack, Dr.

For services rendered 2 years, from 1st January, 1848, to 1st
January, 1850, \$1500, per year. [\$]3000 00

[1847] Paid B. McDermot,³ overseer on the Lochlomond plan-
tation, on acc't. of services rendered for the year 1846, [\$]400 00

\$21

February 16th, 1847.

Received of J. S. Clack, agent for the estate of Isaac Franklin,
twenty one dollars, it being for services on the Lochlomond plan-
tation.

B. McDermott.

Angola, May 22d, 1847.

\$35 50 Rec'd of James S. Clack, agent for the estate of Isaac
Franklin, thirty-five dollars and fifty cents for services on the
Lochlomond plantation, for the year eighteen hundred and
forty-six.

Barnett McDermett.

May 23 [1847] McDermot's wages, 5 months [\$]208 00

[1847] Paid Thomas Crossgrove, overseer on the Killarney plan-
tation, on acct. of services for the year 1846, [\$]400 00

² In addition Clack received \$125.65 "For amounts furnished," but he was debited \$889.11 "due against me in court" per accounts of 1848 and 1849, and \$700 for a draft drawn in favor of William Murray, leaving a balance of \$1,536.54.

³ The correct spelling is probably McDermott.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

\$100

Angola, March 2d, 1847.

Received of James S. Clack, agent for the estate of Isaac Franklin, one hundred dollars, it being the balance due me for services on the Killarney plantation for the year 1846.

Thomas Crossgrove.

Jany. 1 [1848] Thomas Crossgrove's salary to date, [\$]500 00

Dec. 28, [1848] Thos. Crossgrove, for one year services as overseer, [\$]500 00

[1847] Paid Thos. Dowling,⁴ in full to 1st Jan'y, 1847, [\$]350 71

June 5th, 1847.

Rec'd of James S. Clack, agent for the estate of Isaac Franklin, two hundred dollars, it being for services rendered on the Bellevue plantation.

Thos. Dowling.

Jany. 15 [1848] Thomas Dowling, balance of his salary for 1847, [\$]300 00

Sept. 25, [1848] Thos. Dowling, in full for services as overseer, [\$]500 00

New Orleans, Dec. 9, 1847.

\$300 At sight, please pay to the order of Mr Murray,⁵ three

⁴ Dowling testified in 1851 that he first became acquainted with Franklin in 1833; that he "went into his employ in 1843; he went as overseer, and has attended to all the places, and lived on them." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 367.

⁵ The name appears in the printed records as M. Murray, M. Murry, and William Murray; apparently the printer misread "Mr." for "M." It is not always possible to determine what entries under Murray's name are for

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

hundred dollars, and charge the same to acc't. of Estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield, Executor of I. Franklin, dec'd.
To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co. . . .

New Orleans, January 10th, 1848.

\$200 At sight, please pay Mr Murray, or order, two hundred dollars, and charge the same to account of the estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield, One of the Executors of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.
To Messrs. Nalle and Cox, 90 Camp street. . . .

\$700. Bellevue Plantation, Dec. 9, 1848.

On the 1st January next, please pay Mr Murray or order, seven hundred dollars, and charge the same to account.

Your obedient servant, Jas. S. Clack, *Ag't*.
To Messrs. Armfield and Hayes,
Ex'rs of the estate of Isaac Franklin. . . .

salary items, but those of December 9, 1847, and January 10, 1848, are undoubtedly for wages, as an entry for January 7, 1848, combines the two: "Mr Murray, for his services [for] attending to [the] business of the estate to 1st inst., [\$]500."

Other items under Murray's name, some of which may be for salary, are:
New Orleans, May 17th, 1847.

\$736 07 At sight, please pay to William Murray the sum of seven hundred and thirty-six dollars and seven cents, the same being balance of amount that I have paid for Mrs. Franklin, and charge the same to account of executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

John Armfield, Executor of Isaac Franklin,
To Messrs. Dick and Hill, New Orleans.

Paid 17th March, 1847.
1847.

William Murray.

August 7 Murry, as per receipt	[\$] 30 00
Sept. 9 Murry, as per receipt	50 00
Oct. 17 Murry, as per receipt	50 00

1849.

Dec. 18, Draft, favor Wm. Murray	1000 00
Feb. 23, Draft, favor Wm. Murray	342 10

1850.

Jan. 17, Wm. Murray,	1000 00
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ISAAC FRANKLIN

Feb. 22 [1849] Mr Murray, his salary up to 1st January, 1849,
[~~\$~~]500 00

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To L. McVoy,*

Dr.

1846.			
Dec. 31	Balance on settlement	\$424 48	
1847.			
Jan. 31	24½ days work, at 12b	36 75	
Feb. 28	24 days work, at 12b	36 00	
March 30	27 days work, at 12b	40 50	
April 30	21 days work, at 12b	31 50	
		<hr/>	\$569 23

L. McVoy,

To Estate of Isaac Franklin, Dr.

1847.			
Jan. 3	To cash paid per self	\$20 00	
15	To cash paid per self	15 00	
27	To cash paid per self	15 00	
Feb. 7	To cash paid per self	10 00	
8	To cash paid per self	9 75	
March 4	To cash paid per self	20 00	
15	To cash paid per self	23 00	
	Barrel flour per self	6 50	
22	To cash paid per self	10 00	
April 6	To cash paid per self	5 00	
24	To cash paid per self	12 00	
		<hr/>	146 25
	Balance due L. McVoy to date		\$422 98

Rec'd of James S. Clack, agent for estate of Isaac Fra[n]klin,

* Employed by Franklin and his executors as a ditcher. The name is variously spelled in the records as McVoy, McEvoy, McAvoy, and McAvry.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

ninety dollars and ninety-five cents, from April 30th to September 30th 1847, it being for ditching done for said estate.

September 30th, 1847.

Luke McEvoy.

November 10th, 1847.

Received of J. S. Clack, agent for the estate of Isaac Franklin, the sum of fifty-two dollars and eighty-nine cents, in full, for ditching, to date.

Luke McEvoy.

Jany. 15 [1848] Luke McAvry [balance of his salary for 1847],
[\$] 78 00

May 1, [1848] Luke McAvoy, balance last years wages,	64 28
do for work in full to date	160 00

Jan. 10, [1849] Luke McAvoy, for services from 1st May, 1848,
to 1st January, 1849, [\$] 320 00

Feb'y, 10 [1847] James Watson⁷ at sundry times, on acct.
services for 1846, [\$] 555 81

James Watson.

Received, New Orleans, Nov. 30, 1847, from John Armfield, executor of the estate of Isaac Franklin, the sum of nine hundred and five dollars and forty-six cents, the same being balance due me in full for services rendered the said estate; also, fifty dollars for the wood on hand, over and above what was supposed to be on hand at the time of commencing the agency of the woodyard; amounting in all to nine hundred and fifty-five dollars [and]

⁷ Manager of the woodyard on Angola plantation.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

forty-six cents; which is hereby acknowledged to be in full for all services and all accounts, of whatsoever nature, to this date.
\$955 46. James Watson.

April 5 [1847] M. Gilbert,⁸ in advance [\$]500 00

April 30 [1847] M. Gilbert, in advance [\$]500 00

Mar. 31 [1848] M. Gilbert, for his services, one year [\$]850 00

Aug. 14, [1849] Gilbert's salary to 1st Nov., [\$]495 83

[1848] Seven months services of said [James] Dickinson⁹ [in 1847 ?] [\$]291 70

March 29 [1848] James Dickinson, for his services for the month of December [1847] [\$]40 00

Sept. 25, [1848]¹⁰ David [James ?] Dickinson [in full for services as overseer], [\$]500 00

\$500

Bellevue, Jan. 20, 1849.

Please pay to James Dickerson or bearer, five hundred dollars,

⁸ Manager of the sawmill on Angola plantation.

⁹ Overseer on Bellevue and perhaps other plantations.

¹⁰ It is quite possible that the items for September 25, 1848, and January 20, 1849, are duplicates. An entry for February 22, 1849, ("James Dicki[n]son for one year's services as overseer, 500") undoubtedly duplicates the entry for January 20, 1849.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

it being for services rendered as overseer on Bellevue place for the year 1848,

James S. Clack, Agent for estate of Isaac Franklin.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans. . . .

	Angola Plantation, La.	1846.
	Isaac Franklin Estate,	Dr.
T[o] C. G. Wren, ¹¹ for 3½ months work, at \$30 per month, from the 13th of January up [to] this date, 29th April,	Amt.	[\$]105 00
Cr. By cash at sundry times, up to the above date, ¹²		20 50
		<hr/> \$84 50

Jan. 9 [1847] J. Scott, for blacksmithing,	[\$]10 00
--	-----------

Jan. 23 [1847] J. Scott, for blacksmithing,	[\$]31 00
---	-----------

Feb'y. 10 [1847] J. Connelly, for ditching,	[\$]97 38
---	-----------

April 23 [1848] To John Palmer, ¹³ overseer,	[\$]110 00
---	------------

Jan. 8, [1849] J. P. Newcomb, balance for services in 1848,	[\$]344 00
---	------------

¹¹ A carpenter employed by Franklin to build negro cabins. The correct spelling is probably Wren.

¹² See *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 754, 760.

¹³ Manager of the woodyard during an absence of James Watson.

13. TRAVELING EXPENSES¹

Isaac Franklin.

1845		To B. B. Simirs,	Dr.
March 6		To ferriage ² for Mr. Clack,	
		2 horses and negro man	\$2 00
Nov. 5		Ferriage negro man and horse,	
		from Routh's Point	1 00
		Ferriage for Mr. Clack and horse,	
		from Routh's Point	1 00
1846			
Jan. 17		Ferriage for J. Watson and horse, over	
		and back,	1 50
			<hr/> 5 50
		For bill	50
			<hr/> \$6 00

Mr. Armfield,

		To Concordia,	Dr.
		Passage self and servant, from New Orleans to	
		Bayou Sara, ³	\$9 00
May 5, 1846.			
		Received payment,	J. Rainie.

¹ To avoid too much duplication, the items in this section have been selected from a much larger number.

² The only ferry opposite lands owned by Franklin, shown on A. Persac, *Norman's Chart of the Lower Mississippi River* (New Orleans, 1858), was one which crossed from Panola plantation to the Ouachita and Red River Landing.

³ A thriving Mississippi river town in West Feliciana Parish, located at the mouth of the bayou by the same name and seventy-one miles down the river from the Franklin Landing. Much local trade centered there and at St. Francisville, adjacent to Bayou Sara.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Mr. Armfield, Dr.,	To Marshall House. ⁴
To carriage hire,	\$10 00
Bill,	1 50
	<hr/>
	\$11 50
Received payment,	J. H. Henshaw.

Bayou Sara, May 7, 1846.

Statement of expenses incurred in attending to business for Mr. John Armfield, as executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased.

Passage of Mrs. Franklin and 3 children,	30 00
4 days board, horse hire, &c.,	8 00
Passage to New Orleans, returning on do.,	6 00
	<hr/>
	20 00
New Orleans, May 10th, 1846.	25 00
	<hr/>
	\$45 00

May 24th, 1846.

Mr. O. B. Hayes, executor of estate of Isaac Franklin.

	To steamer Tennessee.	Dr.
For freight on remains of Isaac Franklin,		\$15 00
Passage of Mrs. Franklin and 3 children,		30 00
Negro boy Basil, and family,		25 00
4 servants, half price cabin,		30 00
1 black man and boy,		12 00
		<hr/>
		\$112 00

Received payment.

C. T. Reeder, Clerk.

⁴ The Marshall House was established in 1841 at Bayou Sara by Samuel F. Marks. He advertised the opening of a "House of entertainment . . . in the large brick building formerly occupied by the Atchafalaya Rail Road & Banking Company.

"His table will always be supplied with the best the country affords; and in his bar will be found the best of liquors.

"As many families are detained at this point, waiting for steamboats, the proprietor is happy in informing such, that he is prepared to accommodate them with private rooms, having fire places. Good and attentive servants will always be in attendance." *St. Francisville Democrat*, December 2, 1841.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased,
1846.

To McCombs and Carson, Dr.

May 27, For removing the remains of Mr. Franklin from
the steamer Tennessee, at the Nashville land-
ing, to his late residence in Sumner County, \$10 00

Received the 6th October, 1846, of O. B. Hayes, one of executors,
payment in full.

McCombs and Carson.

Rec'd of Jas. Watson, five dollars, for passage of servant girl,
Leda, belonging to the estate of Isaac Franklin, dec'd.
May, 30, 1846. W. H. Kirkland.

July 16, 1846.

Received of John Armfield, Esq., five dollars, in full, for pas-
sage from I. Franklin's to New Orleans.

S. B. Sam Dale.

Jno. Cowden.

Estate Isaac Franklin,
1846.

To B. B. Simirs, Dr.

Sept. 7 To ferriage for Mr. Watson and horse, over
and back 1 50

Received payment in full

J. Kirk,

June 4, 1847.

per B. B. Simirs.

Received, Nashville, Nov. 12th, 1846, of Mr. John Armfield,
executor of Isaac Franklin, two dollars and fifty cents (\$2 50.)
for storage of negroes' baggage.

Yeatman and Armstead, By W. Yeatman.

Messrs. John Armfield and O. B. Hayes, executors of the estate
of I. Franklin,

To steamer Magnolia.

1847, To passage for selves, from New Orleans to
Franklin Woodyard,

\$12 00

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

January 10, 1847.

Received payment,

J. C. Charles, *Clerk.*

Mr. O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin,

To S. B. Clinton, Dr.

For passage from West Baton Rouge to New Orleans, \$4 00

Rec'd payment,

Chas. Riddle, Clerk.

January 15th, 1847.

Trip 26.

13th March, 1847.

Estate I. Franklin,

To Steamer Sam Dale.

To freight on 1 negro woman,

\$3 00

Paid 5th April, 1847.

R. W. Campbell.

Estate Isaac Franklin,

To steamer Concordia, Dr.

For passage of Mr. Murray, from New Orleans to Lobdell's landing ⁵

\$5 00

Rec'd payment from John Armfield, Executor.

March 17th, 1847.

J. Rainie, Clerk.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Marshall House, Dr.

For board of Mr. Murray

2 50

Baggage

50

\$3 00

Rec'd payment from John Armfield, Executor.

Bayou Sara, March 19, 1847.

Joel Smith.

⁵ Located in West Baton Rouge Parish about ten miles north of Baton Rouge (by river) and twenty-five miles south of Bayou Sara. Persac, *Norman's Chart of the Lower Mississippi River.*

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To Steamer Harry Hill,	Dr.
For passage of Mr. Murray, from Red River Landing ⁶		
to Bayou Sara		\$5 00
Received payment of John Armfield, executor, &c.		
May 4, 1847.	John McAllan, Clerk.	

Bayou Sara, May 6th, 1847.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To Marshall House,	Dr.
For board of Mr. Murray \$3 25—horse hire 75 cts, while		
on business of said estate		\$4 00
Rec'd payment from John Armfield, Executor.		
	Thomas B. Smith.	

Bayou Sara, 1848.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

1848.	Smith's Hotel, ⁷	Dr.
Jan. 25.	For carriage to the courthouse, ⁸	5 00
26.	4 trips, do. do.	10 00
"	1 day's board, Mr. Hill and serv.	3 00
27.	2 day's do. Mr. Armfield, 1 day serv.	4 00
"	do J. L. Lobdell, 4b.	50
		<hr/> \$22 50

⁶ Located in Point Coupee Parish at the confluence of the Red and Mississippi rivers. *Ibid.*

⁷ Early in the following year Thomas B. Smith notified "his friends and the public generally that he has purchased and fitted up the large and commodious buildings, lately occupied as the residence of J. Holmes, Esq., on Front Street, Bayou Sara, as a HOTEL, and is now prepared to receive guests. For pleasantness and convenience of location, his house offers superior inducements to the travelling public; while as it regards accommodations and attention to the duty of host, he flatters himself that he will be able to render every satisfaction. A good stable [*sic*] and yard are attached to the establishment." Bayou Sara *Ledger*, February 28, 1852.

A few years earlier Smith had been proprietor of the East Feliciana Hotel, Jackson, Louisiana. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1844. In the interim he had operated the Marshall House at Bayou Sara.

⁸ After the division of Feliciana into East and West Feliciana in 1825, the parish seat of West Feliciana was at St. Francisville.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

During the sitting of a family meeting for the estate.

Rec'd payment of John Armfield, executor.

Bayou Sara, January 27, 1848.

Thos. B. Smith.

	Bayou Sara,	1848.
Estate of Isaac Franklin,	To Smith's Hotel,	Dr.
Jan. 26 3 days board of Mr. O. B. Hayes		4 50
		75
Rec'd payment of O. B. Hayes, executor of said estate		5 25
Bayou Sara, Jan. 26th, 1848.	Thos. B. Smith.	

Received, January 28, 1848, of Mr. John Armfield, seven dollars and fifty cents, for passage of himself and servant from Bayou Sara to New Orleans, on board steamer Luna.

\$7 50

Donaldson, Clerk.

Received, January 28, 1848, of Mr. O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, seven dollars and fifty cents, for passage of self and one servant from Bayou Sara to New Orleans, on board steamer Luna.

\$7 50

Donaldson, Clerk.

Mrs. Hayes and daughter, \$10 00. Mrs. Franklin and two servants, \$10 00.

St. Charles Hotel. New Orleans, Feb. 19, 1848.

O. B. Hayes, exor. of estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To Mudge and Wilson, ⁹	Dr.
Board 3 weeks and 1 day	17 50	55 00
Paid coach 2 00		2 00
Rec'd payment,		57 00
	Holbrook.	

⁹ J. H. Mudge and W. E. Wilson, lessees of the St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, pp. 130, 186.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Feb. 28, 1848.

Mr. O. B. Hayes, executor of the estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,

	To steamer Tennessee,	Dr.
For passage from Bellevue Plantation to Nashville.		\$20 00
Received payment,	C. T. Reeder, <i>Clerk.</i>	

Red River, Dec. 26, 1849.

Mr. O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin,

	To steamer Autocrat,	Dr.
For passage self and son from Memphis to plantation,		\$20 00
Passage of O. B. Hayes, executor,		10 00
Received payment,	F. H. Freligh.	

Received, of O. B. Hayes, executor of I. Franklin, ten dollars, for his passage from Nashville to Memphis,

Thos. W. Anderson, Clerk.

December 30, 1849.

Steamer Colorado.

14. RIVER FREIGHT AND TOWAGE ¹

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

1846.

To steamer Magnolia.

November 1. To freight on 164 bales cotton at 6b	123 00
do 106 do do at 6b	79 50

Received payment,

\$202 50

B. C. Charles, Clerk.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

1846.

To steamer Magnolia.

Nov. 2. To freight on 1 keg nails 2b, 1 bundle steel 2b, 2	
do iron 2b	1 00
6 bars iron 2b, 2 bundles hoop iron 3b	2 00
1 box 4b, 1 bbl oil 4b, 1 bbl molasses 4b	1 50
1 bag hams 2b, 1 bundle geeften [?] 2b	50
4 packages at 2b	1 00
5 bbls cement at 4b, 20 bbls lime at 4b	12 00
1 mill saw 4b	50

Received payment,

\$19 00

B. C. Charles.

Nashville, January 30th, 1847.

Mr. O. B. Hayes, Ex'or. of the estate of Isaac Franklin

To steamer Tennessee Dr.

For freight on one carriage	10 00
" 17 bales moss 7650 40c	30 60
Passage from N. O.	20 00

Received payment

\$60 60

C. T. Ruderek.

¹ The items in this section have been selected to avoid duplication.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Trip 23.	21 February, 1847.
Estate I. Franklin,	
Bellevue.	To Steamer Sam Dale.
To freight on 8 barrels tar, 4b., 12 slabs iron, 2b., 15 bars iron, 1b.	\$8 88
" 2 bdl. rod iron, 2b., 1 box mdze, 34 feet, 6c.	2 54
" 1 box mdze, 4b., 2 bdl. shovels, 2b., 2 bdl. spades, 2b.	1 50
" 1 saw, 2b., 1 rat trap, 2b., 14 kegs nails, 2b.	4 00
	<hr/> \$16 92
13th March. By balance on wood,	6 00
Paid 5th April, 1847.	<hr/> \$10 92
	R. W. Campbell.

	27th February, 1847.
Estate I. Franklin,	
	To Steamer Sam Dale.
To freight on 1 box sundries, 4b., 1 keg powder, 4b., 1 bag shot, 2b.	\$1 25
" 1 bag sugar, 2b., 1 box soap, 2b., 1 keg lead, 2b.	75
" 1 box tobacco, 2b., 1 negro, 2ob.	2 75
	<hr/> \$4 75
Passage for Mr. Watson,	5 00
Paid. Rendered 5th April.	<hr/> \$9 75
	R. W. Campbell.

Estate I. Franklin,	
	To Steamer Concordia, Dr.
March 25, 1847. For freight on 1 cask hams, 8b	\$1
<i>Paid, April 25th.</i>	
Rec'd payment	C. Gyles, Jr., Clerk.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Estate of I. Franklin,

1847

To freight on 1 bbl. oil

To Steamer Magnolia,

\$1 00

Paid.

Charles, Clerk.

April 13th, '47.

Franklin Place, April 15, '47.

Estate of (Isaac) Franklin,

To Steamer Sally Anderson, Dr.

To towing flatboat of corn

\$15

Rec'd payment,

J. Thomas.

16th April, 1847.

Jas. Watson,

To Steamer Sam Dale

For freight on 1 bundle saddle trees 2b }

1 do merchandise 2b }

50

Passage negro woman, Mr. Clack,

4 00

Rec'd payment.

\$4 50

R. W. Campbell.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Steamer Rough and Ready,

For towing flatboat load of corn across the Miss. river,

\$9 00

April 30, 1847.

Rec'd payment of J. Watson

Kirkland & Co.,

For Rough and Ready.

15th May, 1847.

Estate (of Isaac) Franklin.

To Steamer Sam Dale,

For freight on 25 bags salt, 2b

\$6 25

Charges paid for salt

20 70

Paid

26 70

R. W. Campbell.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

1847.

To steamer Dallas.

Aug. 18. To freight on 1 keg spikes 2b, 1 bale oakum 2b,

1 bag coffee 4b, 1 dem'jn brandy 3b 1 25

Charges 51 29

Received payment,

\$52 54

C. D. Cochran.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To steamer Magnolia, Dr.

Sept. 3. For freight on 94 bales cotton at 6b, is 70 50

17. For do on 159 do do 6b 119 25

Received payment,

\$198 75

T. C. Charles, Clerk.

Estate of I. Franklin, Franklin landing,

To steamer Arkansas No. 4, Dr.

To freight on 2 pinions 10 segmts.

2 Steps 2 millspindles,

1 box sundries \$2 50

Nov. 2d, 1847

Received payment,

Henry Green, Clerk.

The executors of Isaac Franklin, deceased, in Louisiana,

To owners of Steamer Tennessee.

For freight of one blind stallion from Nashville to Bellevue

plantation, La., for the use of said plantation \$10 00

For cash paid boy for attending him on passage down 1 00

\$11 00

Nashville, May 31, 1848.

Received payment of O. B. Hayes, one of the executors of said estate.

G. T. Reeder, Cl'k.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Armfield,

1849.

To steamer Princess No. 3, Dr.

Jan. 10, To freights on 1 box sundries, 1 keg, 75

1 mill saw, 6 kegs nails, 1 75

Received payment, \$2 50

D. R. Carroll, Pr. B. Egan.

15. BAGGING, ROPE, AND TWINE

Bought of Shultz, Hadden & Leach,		
30 coils rope, weighing 3875, at $7\frac{1}{2}c$		\$290 62
Drayage		75
		<hr/> \$291 37
Commissions, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent		7 28
		<hr/> \$298 65
Debit estate Isaac Franklin		
New Orleans, 12th October, 1847.		
Hill, McLean & Co., per C. T. Estlin.		

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of steamboat Bunker Hill.		
8 pcs bagging, 846 yds	at 16c	135 36
8 coils rope, 1138 yds	7c	79 52
		<hr/> \$214 88
Received payment,		
Nov. 2d, 1847.		Geo. L. Bartlett.

Estate of Isaac Franklin.

For 10 pcs. bagging, 1000 yds.,	at $15\frac{1}{2}$,	155 00
10 Coils rope, 1473 lbs.,	8	117 84
20 Hanks twine, 25	15	3 75
Drayage to steamer Magnolia,		75
		<hr/>
Charged to acct. New Orleans, January 18th, 1848.		277 34

The estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.		
To cash paid for 2 coils rope, 255 yds., at $7\frac{1}{2}$ cts., and		
drayage, 25 cts.,		19 38
New Orleans, 27th June, 1848.		

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

The estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 10 coils rope, 1104, at 7½ cts.,	\$82 80	
10 pieces bagging, 1030 yds., at 15 cts.,	154 50	
1 ball twine, 65 15 cts.,	9 75	
Drayage,	50	247 55

New Orleans, 28th August, 1848.

The Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 20 coils rope, 2351 at 7½ cts.,	\$116 32	
20 pieces bagging, 2060 yds., at 15 cts.,	309 00	
Drayage,	1 00	486 32

New Orleans, 5th September, 1848.

The estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 37 pieces bagging, 3034 yds., at		
17 cts.,	\$515 78	
40 coils rope, 5581 at 7¾ cts.,	422 53	
Drayage,	2 00	950 31

New Orleans, 17th October, 1848.

The estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 1 bale twine, 30 at 15 cts.;		
drayage, 25 cts.,		4 75

New Orleans, 13th November, 1848.

The estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

To cash paid for 12 pieces bagging, 1200 yds.,	
at 17 cts.,	\$204 00

ISAAC FRANKLIN

12 coils rope, 1840,	147 20
Drayage,	75 351 95
	<hr/>
New Orleans, 5th December, 1848.	

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

For 8 pcs. bagging, 800 yds., at 16c,	128 00
6 coils rope 759 81½	64 52
Drayage to steamer Magnolia,	50
	<hr/>
Charged to acct. New Orleans, December 21st, 1848.	193 02
8 per cent interest, to 7th December, 1849.	

The Estate of Isaac Franklin,

To Nalle and Cox.

1849.	P'pl.	Time mo. dys.	Int.
Sept. 1 20 pcs. bagging, 2040 yds. at 16½c.	336 60		
20 coils rope, 2511 yds. at 8½c.	213 43		
1 ball twine 68 yds. at 17c.	11 56		
Drayage,	1 00—562 59	3 6	12 00
Oct. 2 20 pieces bagging, 2060 yds. at 16½c.	339 90		
20 coils rope, 2137 yds. at 8½c.	181 64		
Drayage,	1 00—552 54	66	7 67
23 10 pieces bagging, 1030 yds. at 16c.	164 80		
20 coils rope, 2256 yds. at 8¼c.	186 12		
Drayage,	75—351 67	45	3 52
Nov. 13 15 pieces bagging, 1545 yds. at 15½c.	239 47		
	[326]		

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

15 coils rope, 1739			
yds. at 7¾c.	134 77		
8 hanks twine, 20			
yds. at 16c.	3 20		
Drayage,	75-379 19	24	2 01

16. STATE AND PARISH TAXES

\$1,074 50

Bayou Sara, Nov, 9th, 1846.

At sight of this, you will be pleased to pay to the order of Jno. Holmes, Esq., the sum of one thousand and seventy-four dollars and fifty cents; the same being the amount of the State and Parish taxes, in the Parish of West Feliciana, due for the year eighteen hundred and forty-six, (1846,) against the estate of Mr. Isaac Franklin, deceased, and this draft shall be your receipt for the taxes, as aforesaid.

Respectfully, Seymour H. Lurty.

Sheriff of West Feliciana.

To Messrs. Dick and Hill, New Orleans, La.

Pay to the order of Messrs. K. Dunbar & Co.,¹

John Holmes.

K. Dunbar, & Co., per Jeffrion.

Paid, 12th Nov., '46.

\$1892 26.

Bayou Sara, January 28, 1848.

At sight of this, you will please pay to the order of Messrs McCombs and Clauss,² the sum of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two dollars and twenty-six cents—the same being the amount of the State and Parish Taxes in West Feliciana, due by the estate of Isaac Franklin, for the year eighteen hundred and forty-seven, (1847,) and you will please charge the same to the account of said estate.

Seymour H. Lurty,

Sheriff of West Feliciana.

¹ Commission merchant, 24 Common Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory . . . for 1849*, p. 58.

² "Commission and Forwarding Merchants, and dealers in provisions, bagging, rope, &c, Bayou Sara, Louisiana. Liberal advances made on cotton consigned to J. B. Byrne & Co., New Orleans." *Woodville Wilkinson Whig*, July 28, 1848.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

To Messrs. Dick and Hill, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co. will please pay the within, and charge the same to the estate of Isaac Franklin.

John Armfield, }
O. B. Hayes, } Executors.

McComb[s] and Clauss.

Paid 2nd February, 1848.

Dollars, 1601, 59 cents.

Bayou Sara, 28th Nov., 1849.

At sight of this, you will please pay to the order of Messrs. McComb[s] and Clauss, the sum of one thousand six hundred and one dollars and fifty-nine cents. The same being the amount of the State and parish taxes in the parish of West Feliciana, for the year eighteen hundred and forty-nine, (1849,) due by the estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased, and charge,

Very respectfully, your ob't. serv't.,

S. H. Lurty,

Sheriff of West Feliciana.

To Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans, Louisiana. . . .

Hill, McLean & Co. will please (pay) the within draft.

John Armfield, *Ex'r.* of Isaac Franklin.

McCombs and Clauss,

Pay to the order of Maunsel, White & Co.³

T. McCrindell,

Maunsell, White & Co.

³ Maunsel White & Co., commission and forwarding merchants, 100 Gravier Street, New Orleans. White was also a sugar planter whose plantation, Deer Range, was situated thirty-six miles below New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* . . . for 1849, p. 184; *American Agriculturist* (New York, 1842-), VI (1847), 175. For a brief biographical sketch, see Herbert A. Kellar (ed.), *Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1936), II, 181.

17. FIRE INSURANCE ON ANGOLA SAWMILL ¹

The New Orleans Agency of the Nashville Marine, Fire Insurance, Life and Trust Company.

By this policy of insurance, the Nashville Marine Fire Insurance and Life and Trust Company, in consideration of one hundred dollars, paid to W. B. Partee, their authorized agent, by the insured hereinafter named, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do insure Mr. Isaac Franklin against loss and damage by fire, to the amount of five thousand dollars, on steam sawmill, machinery and other appurtenances thereunto attached, situate about two hundred miles above New Orleans, and opposite the mouth of Red river, for twelve months; and the said company do hereby promise and agree, to make good unto the said insured, his executors, administrators and assigns, all such loss or damage, not exceeding in amount the sum hereby insured, as shall happen by fire to the property, as above specified, from the first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and forty-five, (at twelve o'clock at noon,) unto the first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, (at 12 o'clock at noon); the said loss or damage to be estimated according to the true and actual value of the said property, at the time the same shall happen; and to be paid within sixty days after due notice and proof thereof, made by the insured, in conformity to the conditions of this policy. Provided, always, and it is hereby declared, that this company shall not be liable to make good any loss or damage by fire, which may happen or take place by means of any invasion, insurrection, riot or civil commotion, or if any military or usurped power, or by any earthquake or hurricane.

And, provided further, That in case the insured shall have already any other insurance against loss by fire on the property hereby insured, not notified to this company, and mentioned in

¹ This policy was renewed from year to year.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

or endorsed upon this policy, then this insurance against loss by fire on the property hereby insured, will be void and of no effect. And if the said insured, or his assigns, shall hereafter make any other insurance on the same property, and shall not, with all reasonable diligence, give notice thereof to this company, and have the same endorsed on this instrument, or otherwise acknowledged by them in writing, this policy shall cease and be of no further effect. And in case of any other insurance upon the property hereby insured, whether prior or subsequent to the date of this policy, the insured shall not, in case of loss or damage, be entitled to demand or recover of this company any greater portion of the loss or damage sustained, than the amount hereby insured shall bear to the whole amount insured on said property, without reference to the dates of the different policies. And it is agreed and declared to be the true intent and meaning of the parties hereto, that in case the above-mentioned property or premises shall at any time after the making and during the continuance of this insurance, be appropriated, applied, or used, to or for the purpose of carrying on or exercising therein, any trade, business, or vocation, denominated hazardous or extra hazardous, in the conditions of this policy, or for the purpose of storing therein any of the articles, goods or merchandise, in the conditions aforesaid, denominated hazardous or extra hazardous, unless herein otherwise especially provided for, or hereafter agreed to by this company in writing, and added to or endorsed upon this policy, then and from thenceforth, so long as the same shall be so appropriated, applied, or used, these presents shall cease, and be of no force or effect. And it is moreover declared, that this insurance is not intended to apply to or to cover any books of account, written securities, deeds, or other evidences of title to lands, nor to bonds, bills, notes, or other evidences of debts, nor to money or bullion. And that this policy is made and accepted in reference to the conditions hereto annexed, which are to be used and resorted to, in order to explain the rights and obligations of the parties hereto in all cases not herein otherwise specially provided for.

In witness whereof, being thereunto fully authorized for, and in behalf of the Nashville Marine, Fire Insurance, and Life and Trust Company, I hereunto subscribe my name, in New Orleans,

ISAAC FRANKLIN

this first day of December, 1845; but hereby fully and expressly declaring I am in no ways responsible, in person or estate, under this insurance, or for any act done in consequence thereof; and that the capital stock and funds of the said Nashville Marine, Fire Insurance, and Life and Trust Company, as above stated, shall be alone subject to the obligations herein contained. All of which is well understood and agreed to by the aforesaid.

\$5,000 at 2 per cent.,
Policy,

\$100 00

1 50

\$101 50

W. B. Partee, Agent.

18. MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURES

Estate of Isaac Franklin, opposite mouth of Red River,

1844.	To Alexander Speer,	Dr.
Nov. 26,	To 1 plantation bell, 373 lbs., a 33 $\frac{1}{3}$.	\$124 33
	do bell frame and bolts,	18 00
		<hr/>
		\$142 33
1845. Cr.		
April 24,	By draft on New York,	120 00
		<hr/>
	Interest after 6 mos.,	\$22 33
	Probate.	3 90 $\frac{1}{2}$
		12 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<hr/>
	Total,	\$26 36

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

	To D. F. Miller, ¹	Dr.
For cotton seed furnished the estate in the year		
1836 [1846],		\$65 97
[January 18, 1848]		

New Orleans, Feb'y. 6, 1849,

Mr. Isaac Franklin,

1846.	To Andrew G. Bull & Co., ²	Dr.
Apl. 32 [<i>sic</i>], 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. fine horse brushes,	12	\$6 00
2 worsted English surcingles,	1,	2 00
4 do. do. do.		3 00

¹ A cotton planter of Concordia Parish, Louisiana. "Directory of the Planters of Louisiana and Mississippi," in *Cohen's New Orleans Directory for 1855*, p. 344.

² Saddlery, 15 Canal Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register for 1846*, p. 127.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

4 pairs standing martingales, No. 1,	75c,	3 00
3 bridle fillings, cov'd buckles,	1 75,	5 25
1 do. do. bit and bridle,		1 50
93 lbs. harness leather,	26c,	24 18
Drayage,		25
		<hr/>
		\$45 18

Received of Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., forty-five dollars and eighteen cents, in full, for the within account.

New Orleans, February 7, 1849.

Andrew G. Bull & Co.

Invoice of Alcohol, shipped by Dick and Hill, per steamer Talleyrand, account of Isaac Franklin:

Bought of McAlpin and Tagert,

2 barrels of Alcohol, 122 gallons, at 55c		\$67 10
Drayage,	25,	25
Commission,	2½	1 68

Debit Isaac Franklin, Esq.,
New Orleans, 2d May, 1846.

Dick and Hill, per J. Brandt.

O. B. Hayes, executor for Isaac Franklin,

To Rufus Smith, Dr.

To repairing double-barreled gun, and making
cock to lock, for Bellevue Plantation,

\$2 50

Received payment, Nashville, December 19, 1846.

Rufus Smith.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of S. May,

Feb. 1847. 1 pr. patent balances

\$12 00

Received payment of Jas. Watson.

S. May. *per* Kirkland & Co.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

Bellevue, March 16th, 1847.

\$50 Messrs. Dick and Hill, Gents. Please pay to H. A. Rock fifty dollars, for one hundred barrels stone coal, and charge to estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant. . . .

Jas. S. Clack, Agent.

H. A. Rock

Paid 7th May, 1847.

New Orleans, April 6, 1847.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of Smith and Brother,³

8 Spanish trees [saddle frames], at \$2, \$16
Received payment of John Armfield, executor.

Smith and Brother, *per pro* Bartlett.

Rec'd of James S. Clack, agent for the estate of Isaac Franklin, six dollars and fifty cents, for a cooking stove.

\$6 50

George B. Dennis.

April 12th, 1847.

New Orleans, 22d April, 1847.

Mr. J. S. Clack, agent estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of R. W. Montgomery,⁴

1 pr French burr mill stones \$100 50

Drayage

Received payment, \$100 50

R. W. Montgomery.

³ C. B. and Thomas Smith, saddlery store, 52 Common Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 526-27.

⁴ "Importer of Foreign and Domestic Hardware" and dealer in "Cutlery, Iron, Steel, Tinplate, Castings, Mill Stones, Mill Irons, Tin and Wooden Ware, Cane-knives,

NAILS, AXES, CHAINS,

Sperm, Whale, Lard and Linseed oils; Paints of all kinds"; also agent for "King's Red Carey & Hall's Peacock Ploughs." Located at 11 Chartres Street, New Orleans. *New-Orleans Pictorial Advertiser*, for 1849, p. 13; Woodville (Miss.) *Wilkinson Whig*, July 28, 1848.

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Duplicate invoice of lard oil,⁵ per steamer St. Mary, consigned to J. S. Clack, Esq., Bellevue, acc't Messrs. Armfield & Hayes, executors.

Bought of McAlpin & Tagert,	
2 Bbls W[inter] S[trained] lard oil, 82½ galls., at 85c	70 13
Drayage to St. Mary	25
	<hr/>
	70 38
Commission, 2½ per cent	1 76
	<hr/>
E[rrors] E[xcepted] Debit Messrs. Armfield & Hayes,	\$72 14
New Orleans, 26 August, 1847.	
Hill, McLean & Co., per C. T. Estlin.	

Dr. The estate of Isaac Franklin,

In account with D. Hoard.

38½ gallons lard oil, at 6b.,	\$28 88
Freight from city,	75
	<hr/>
	\$29 63

Rec'd payment,

D. Hoard, By T. Hoard.

Raccourci Cut Off, Sept. 30th, 1847.

Estate of Isaac Franklin,

[1847]

To steamer Magnolia, Dr.

Oct. 12 For cash paid for bill of lime	23 50
" cash paid for 3 bbls. tar	10 75
17 " Freight on 60 bbls. pork, 4b	30 00
	<hr/>
Received payment,	\$64 25

T. C. Charles, Clerk.

New Orleans, November 29, 1847.

Mr. Armfield, for estate of Isaac Franklin,

Bought of B. Brower & Co.,⁶

⁵ For other purchases of lard oil, see Pt. III, No. 9, *passim*.

⁶ "Importers of earthenware, china, glass, table, cutlery, silver and plated ware; lamps, japanned ware, kitchen utensils and household furnishing goods in general." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 206. See also, *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* . . . for 1849, p. 28.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

No. 17 Camp street, . . .

1 doz teas \$1, 1 doz plates 75c	1 75
2 dishes 40 and 50c, 2 pitchers 30 and 40c	1 60
1 teapot 40c, sugar 35c, cream 20c	95
1 dozen knives and forks	2 50
1/2 dozen britannia spoons 12c	75
1 do do tea do	65
1 tin wash basin 40c, 1 tin pan 30c	70
1/2 doz tumblers 12c, 75c; box and drayage 75c	1 50
	<hr/> \$10 40

Rec'd payment of John Armfield, Executor.

B. Brower & Co.

Bellevue, La., Dec. 23d, 1847.

\$309 50 Please pay to the order of Hall & Speer, three hundred and nine dollars and fifty cents, for eighty ploughs, and charge to acc't. of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most ob't servant,

James S. Clack, *Agent*.

Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., New Orleans.

Hall & Spear.

Paid 27th Dec., 1847.

Bellevue, January 21, 1848.

\$220 At sight, pay to the order of Hall and Spear, two hundred and twenty dollars, for two wagons, and charge to account of estate of Isaac Franklin, per advice of your most obt. servt.

Jas. S. Clack, *Agent*.

Messrs. Nalle and Cox, New Orleans.

Hall and Spear, pay Martine & Co., or order.

Warwick Martine & Co.

Martine & Co.

New Orleans, 18th February, 1848.

Mrs. A. Franklin,

ISAAC FRANKLIN

Bought, of H. E. Baldwin & Co. . . .⁷

1 bronz flower stand	30 00
1 gold locket	5 00
	<hr/>
	\$35 00

Received from Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co., the above sum.

H. E. Baldwin & Co. *per* Wm. H. Henry.

New Orleans, March 8, 1848.

Mrs. Isaac Franklin,

1848.

To Paradise, Saffaman & Co.⁸

Feb. 23 1 large painted vase, broken,	\$55 00
1 pair China vases,	40 00
Package \$5, drayage to steamer Tennessee,	
\$1 25,	6 25
	<hr/>
	\$101 25

Rec'd payment from Hill, McLean & Co.

Paradise Saffaman & Co.

New Orleans, May 10th, 1848.

Received of O. B. Hayes, executor of Isaac Franklin, deceased, in Louisiana, twenty-five dollars, for a cutter sold him for the estate in Louisiana.

17th March, 1848.

Stackett, Woods & Co.

Estate of Isaac Franklin, Dr.

To Morphy and Nevius.⁹

⁷ "No. 7 Chartres street [New Orleans]; jewelry and watches, silver and plated ware, military and fancy goods; cutlery, lamps, guns, rifles, &c.; girandoles, clocks, and mantle ornaments; watches repaired and regulated." *Succession of Isaac Franklin*, 194. See also, *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* . . . for 1849, p. 15.

⁸ W. S. Paradise and John L. Saffarans, commission merchants, 67 Gravier Street, New Orleans. *New Orleans Price-Current*, January 8, 1848; *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* . . . for 1849, pp. 138, 157.

⁹ D. E. Morphy and J. S. Nevius, auctioneers, 57 Magazine Street, New Orleans. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* . . . for 1849, pp. 129, 133.

FINANCIAL RECORDS, 1846-1850

For 100 mosquito nets, a 50c. each, \$50 00
 Received payment of Messrs. Hill, McLean & Co.,
 Morphy and Nevius, pr G. F. Kinsey.
 November 21, 1848
Paid 21st. Nov. '48.

New Orleans, 1st Dec., 1848.
 Estate of Isaac Franklin, deceased,
 Bought of Sykes, Hyde & Co.¹⁰
 158 tents, a \$1 50, 237 00
 24 wagon whips, a 30c, 7 20

 \$244 20
 Received payment of Hill, McLean & Co.,
 Sykes, Hyde & Co., pr Hughes.
Paid 1st December.

New Orleans, 22d January, 1850.
 Estate of Isaac Franklin,
 Bought of D. Maupay,¹¹
 11 papers garden seed, 1 10
 Received payment, D. Maupay.

New Orleans, January 22d, 1850.
 Estate of Isaac Franklin,
 Bought of J. Waterman and Co.¹²
 1 pair of clipping shears, \$3 00
 Received payment of J. Armfield,
 J. Waterman, per Impsey.

¹⁰ R. B. Sykes and Edward F. Hyde, auctioneers and commission merchants, 51 and 53 Magazine Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 170.

¹¹ Seedsman and florist, 95 Camp Street, New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 122.

¹² "Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Hardware, Cutlery, Iron, Steel, Nails, &c.," 14 Magazine Street, New Orleans. *New-Orleans Pictorial Advertiser*, for 1849, p. 44.

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ISAAC FRANKLIN

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